

ARCHAEOLOGY



WINTER 1960

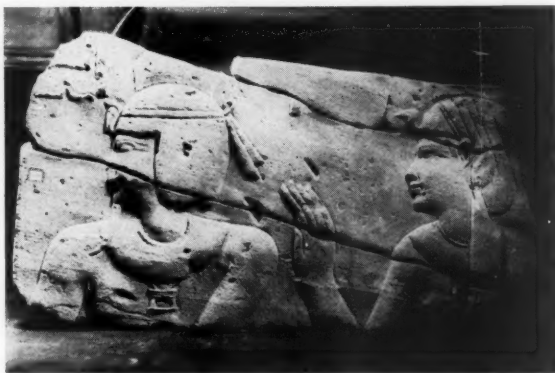
VOLUME 13

NUMBER 4

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ARCHAEOLOGY

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By Dorothy Burr Thompson

THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE SHOEMAKER



Southwest corner of the Athenian Agora, showing the house of Simon the Shoemaker. The boundary stone which is standing in place at the base of the terrace wall is at the northeast corner of the house (compare the plan).

EXCAVATIONS in the Athenian Agora

—with which Mrs. Homer Thompson has been occupied for many years—often result in interesting discoveries such as the one described here.

ARCHAEOLOGY readers of long standing will remember Mrs. Thompson's fascinating articles on ancient parks and gardens. Terracotta figurines have been her main field of research.

PLUTARCH, the antiquarian who lived in the second century after Christ, used to enjoy nostalgic conversations with his friends about the Golden Age of Athens. On one such occasion, a friend gave a sigh and said:

"I wish I were a shoemaker in ancient Athens so that Socrates would come to sit beside Pericles in my house and chat with him." Little did the speaker imagine that some eighteen hundred years later American archaeologists would happen upon a shoemaker's house where Socrates and Pericles may well have met and chatted with the owner.

In the southwest corner of the Athenian Agora, or market place, the road forks to lead on the left to a fountain, on the right to a city-gate. Here still stands a stone that speaks clearly: "I am the boundary stone of the Agora." Behind it are small buildings on the edge of the square. One of these may well be the house of a known Athenian character, Simon the Shoemaker.

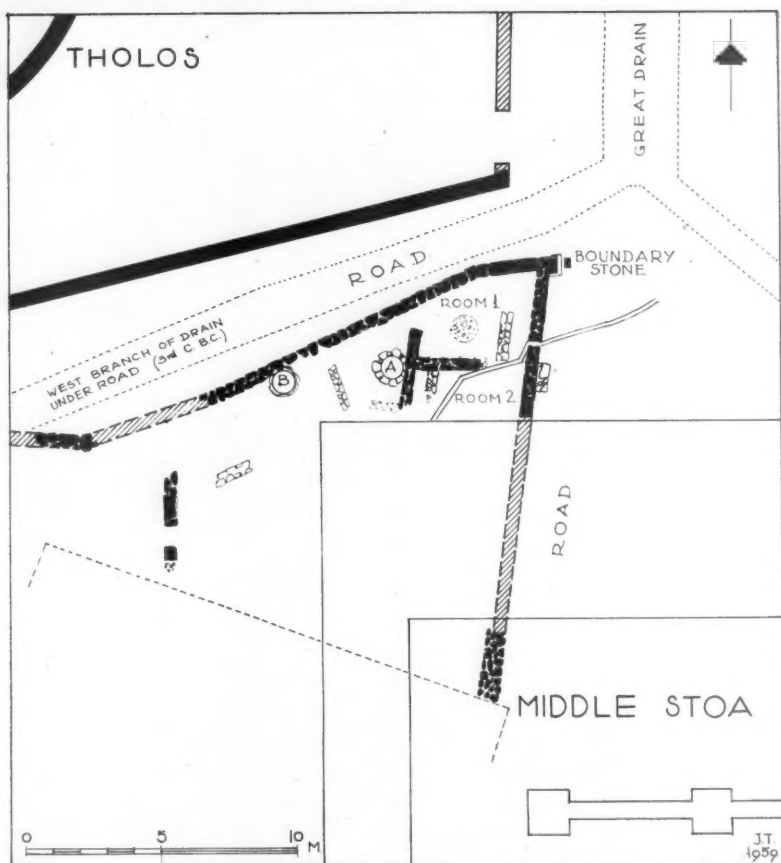
The earliest walls on the terrace behind the boundary stone evidently belonged to a small house built around a court in which was a well (A on plan) some forty feet deep; its walls were coated with a heavy deposit of lime, suggesting a long period of use. Water jars found at the bottom, plain as well as painted, indicate that the well was in use as early as about 500 B.C.

Some twenty years later the house served by this well came to a disastrous end. The Persians, who had occupied Athens during the year 480-479, departed, but like all retiring armies, they destroyed what they could not remove. All through Athens they burned and demolished public and private buildings alike. They evidently tore the roof off our house, so that soon the mud brick of the walls, without protection from the winter rains, washed over the floors. Down the well they dumped everything they could find, to fill it up and render it useless to the returning family. In this well we found roof tiles, bricks, pieces of an oven, household

jars, jugs and basins, grinding stones, lamps, whorls from the wife's distaff and weights from her loom, figurines from the household shrine and a pickaxe to use in tapping resin from pine trees. Together with these were some of the family's prized possessions: vases finely painted in black-figure and red-figure, showing the owner's good taste and comfortable means. When the family returned, no doubt poor and depressed after the war, they evidently decided that the well was not worth cleaning out. They filled it completely with tiles and stones and dug a new well (B on plan). They also filled their old cesspool with stones, including several ostraca—the potsherds which the Athenians used for voting to banish oppressors. These ostraca all date in the period 480-470 B.C., showing that the house was not long deserted. The walls were rebuilt on their old lines, presumably by the former owners. This new house was made of roughly dressed limestone blocks.

What sort of family was this, living comfortably if modestly at the very edge of the market-square? We do not know their names, but we know that just after their return the later owner was born, and possibly he grew up in the new house.

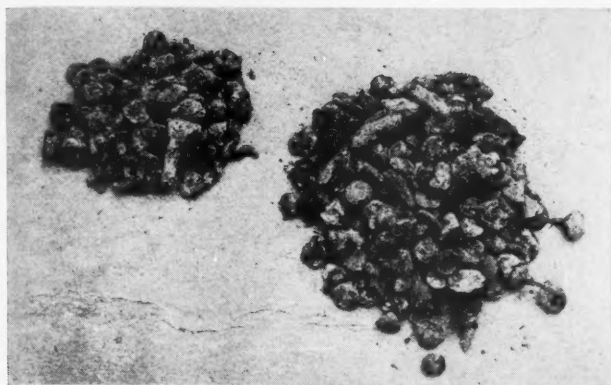
THIS HOUSE IS NOW only partly preserved, as shown on the plan. It lies southwest of the boundary stone, up on a terrace at the street corner. The terrace wall, preserved to a height of ca. 3½ feet, is composed of limestone blocks, cut to fit neatly in polygons. The house extended about forty-two feet to the west and probably as far as forty-nine feet to the south, where it was limited by another terrace wall. The best preserved part, probably a courtyard (18 x 21 feet), lies at the northeast corner. A post-hole on the north side suggests that a shed was set against the north wall, facing south, a favorite exposure in Greece. The Greeks realized that this arrangement permitted the sun, when it was low in winter, to



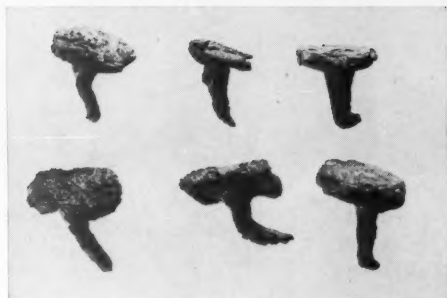
Plan of the house of Simon. A indicates the well used before the Persian invasion and B the new well dug after 479 B.C. The Middle Stoa is a later structure.



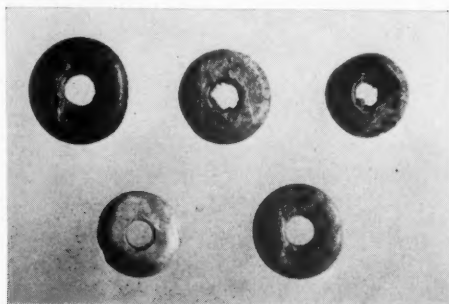
Jug of the Roman period in the shape of a boot with hobnails on the sole. The laces are threaded through rings, perhaps of bone, such as those found in Simon's house. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Iron hobnails found on various floor levels of the house.



A few of the iron hobnails found in Simon's house.



Bone eyelet rings found on various floor levels.

House of Simon continued

give warmth and light to the cosy interior, while in summer its higher course cleared the area, leaving it cool and shady. This would form an ideal working place for a shoemaker, who loves to sit in a dark corner out of the glare. Aristophanes (*Ecclesiazusae* 385 f.) refers to shoemakers as a "pallid crowd" and Xenophon (*Economicus* IV. ii) says that they ruin their bodies by sitting in the shade.

The door of the court apparently opened on the street to the east. The floors of this court and of a room adjoining it on the south (Room 2 on plan) were made of rolled yellow clay. These floors tell us most about the history of the house, for they were renewed seven times during the two hundred years of its existence. The lowest floor was just above the level of bedrock and covered all but the mouth of a pit or cesspool in the center of the court. This floor served the house for the first twenty years of its occupation, until the Persians came in 480 B.C. When the inhabitants returned and rebuilt the house, they also spread clay for a new floor. Three more renewals are traceable during the remaining

eighty years of the fifth century, and two other floors indicate continued activity during the fourth century. Finally, when a large stone drain was built under the street that led southwest, the levels had to be raised so much and the street so greatly widened that the little house was demolished. Carts ran over its protruding walls, indifferent to this earlier dwelling.

Not only do these floors tell us the story of the house but they also reveal something of its owners. Along with ordinary household objects such as bits of broken pottery, lamps and coins, the floors yielded some unusual objects. In the mid-fifth century floor we found scores of short iron nails with large round heads. In the two floors above they were also profuse, and along with them were small bone rings, many more of which were found dumped outside the house to the south. What can these be but hobnails? The bone rings certainly look like the eyelets of soft leather boots (I owe this suggestion to Professor William Wallace). We also found a worn little whetstone which could have served for sharpening a shoemaker's knife. But of leather not a shred, because the climate of Greece does not permit such perishable material to survive as it does elsewhere. The evidence,



Left: Clay kylix or drinking cup of the mid-fifth century B.C. Right: Kylix base inscribed "Simon."

House of Simon continued

then, points to one conclusion: that we have found the house of a shoemaker, who worked there from about 450 to 410 B.C.

A shoemaker's shop at the corner of the Agora is exactly in keeping with the remarks of Lysias, the orator, to his fellow-citizens (xxiv.20): "Each of you is in the habit of frequenting some place: a perfumer's shop, a barber's, a leather-worker's and so forth; and the greatest number visit those who have their establishments nearest the Agora." We know also from Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, IV. ii. 1 and 8) how Socrates strolled into such places to talk philosophy. Near the market, he tells us, a certain rein-maker or saddler had a shop, and here a boy, Euthydemus, who owned a large collection of books but who was still too young to enter the Agora, would come to chat. Socrates once searched out this learned youth and had a long discussion with him.

The name of the shoemaker who occupied this establishment on the corner is given by a lucky find. Just outside the shop, in a layer of gravel, together with other pottery of the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., we found the foot of a drinking cup. On the top of the base, scratched through the brilliant black glaze, is the name "SIMON." Was the owner of the cup the owner of the shop? Why not? We can never be sure, but there is a good chance that the cup was broken in the house and tossed out into the street.

We may assume, then, that we have to do with Simon, a shoemaker of the third quarter of the fifth century, and we may venture to identify him with the shoemaker whom Plutarch called enviable because, simple artisan though he was, he entertained Pericles and Socrates. This Simon was a famous character in antiquity, the favorite

example of the Athenian democratic way of life which permitted the humble to mingle with the great. In such a small community as Periclean Athens, we can scarcely suppose that two shoemakers named Simon lived near the Agora.

Most of our knowledge of this person who was so honored in later literature comes from Diogenes Laertius, who lived in the third century after Christ. His account is brief but vivid (II.xiii.122):

"Simon, an Athenian, a shoemaker. When Socrates came to his workshop and discoursed, he used to make notes of what he remembered, whence these dialogues were called, 'The Shoemaker's.' Thirty-three were gathered into a book." Then follow the titles, rather repetitious, but only the more convincing, as the topics are decidedly Socratic. They deal with the gods, the good, the beautiful, courage, law, honor, justice, poetry, love, learning, music, number and, of course, philosophy. The most delightful episode in this short sketch is told of Simon's answering, with saucy independence, the leader of the Athenian democracy. Pericles, evidently relishing Simon's philosophical turn of mind, offered to take him into his own circle—in other words, to support him if he would join the party. Simon answered proudly that he would not sell his freedom of speech.

Beyond this we know nothing certain of Simon the shoemaker. He is mentioned by others such as Plutarch, who wrote, as we observed, with some snobbish surprise, of a shoemaker's being a devoted follower of Socrates. The writers who were closest to Socrates' circle, namely, Plato and Xenophon, never mention Simon by name. This silence is doubtless due to the fact that these two followers of Socrates, who were born just at the time that Pericles died, did not know Simon personally. By correlating Simon's dates with those of the philoso-



Black-figure amphora showing a scene in a shoemaker's shop. A young girl is being fitted with shoes. Photograph courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Black-figure amphora with another shoemaking scene. The boy standing on the table is having new sandals fitted. Photo courtesy Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Interior of red-figure kylix showing a shoemaker working at his bench. Above, on the wall, hang various parts of his equipment. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Sandal of the Roman period found in London. Photograph courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

House of Simon continued

phers with whom he is associated by later writers, namely, Antisthenes, Aristippus and Prodicus, it becomes clear that Simon's shop would have been frequented mostly during the third quarter of the fifth century and that he probably died around 420-415. His character became a sort of legend, to be played with in imaginary letters and discourses that set him up as a democratic-minded old craftsman who was proud of his calling.

"I admit I am a shoemaker," he is made to say by an unknown forger of letters purporting to have been exchanged between Simon, Aristippus the Cynic and Antisthenes. "No one is a better philosopher than Simon the Shoemaker and no one ever will be." Then he playfully goes on to point out that Aristippus, who wears shoes, is a more suitable friend for Simon than the Cynic, who goes barefoot and wears a beard and filthy rags, collecting lice and undermining Simon's livelihood by preaching austerity. However imaginative this characterization may be, it is a plausible portrait in that city of philosophers.

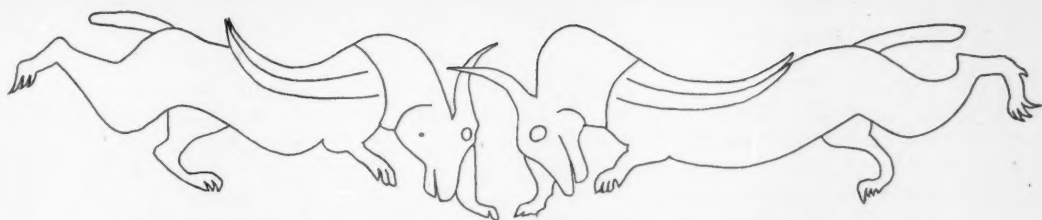
WHAT DID THIS SHOP LOOK LIKE, when Pericles, Socrates and their friends gathered about for a good talk? Three

Athenian vase-paintings give us a notion of the scenes that took place in the small shop. On the earliest (an amphora in Boston), of the generation before Simon, the dignified client leans on his cane watching the shoemaker place his young daughter on a table. She holds out a piece of leather for one foot while the shoemaker "fits the sandal to the foot," in the Greek phrase. A basin under the table is perhaps for soaking the hard sole leather. On another painting (an amphora in Oxford) it is a boy who has been brought in, dressed proudly not in everyday chiton but in a cloak just like his handsome father's. Evidently a new pair of shoes was as much an event to an Athenian child as it is to one of our own. On a cup (in London) the portrait of the shoemaker is very close to our conception of Simon, for he is bald and of philosophical mien. Above his head hang his lasts and his tools: the awl, the half-moon and straight knives, identical with the instruments used by leather workers today. He sits busy at his bench, cutting leather, no doubt waiting eagerly for Socrates.

In one of these pictures a slave boy is helping. We are reminded that assistants played an important part in the larger establishments. Xenophon tells us (*Cyropaedia* VIII.ii.5): "One man makes shoes for men, another for women, and there are even places where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes, another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations, but only assembles the parts."

Simon's shop was certainly not large enough to be so highly specialized. To judge from the masses of hobnails found there, he dealt largely in good, strong boots for army life or sandals for sturdy wear. Such sandals, studded with nails, have been found in various places. In later days an amusing trick was played by courtesans; they had nails studded on their shoe soles in the form of letters to imprint a message on the earth: "Get out" or "Follow me." It is questionable whether Simon's shop produced that line of goods. More likely, his nails were used in boots of the type called *crepides*, for tramping—the "soldiers' boots." Alexander's prefect, Hagnon, succumbing to the taste of the East, had his boots studded with golden nails—but Simon made his of iron.

We may permit ourselves, then, to imagine Simon at work finishing a sole (his mouth full of nails) when Socrates comes in to await Euthydemus. If Alcibiades accompanies him and hesitates arrogantly at the door, Socrates challenges him: "Do you despise that shoemaker there?" (Aelian, *Varia Historia* II.1), and Alcibiades admits it; after all, he was brought up an aristocrat. Socrates replies, "The people of Athens are just such people; if you despise this one, you despise all."



1. Typical example of the Nanyang reliefs, showing two bull-like animals locked in combat.

Bull Grappling in Early Chinese Reliefs

By Richard C. Rudolph

THE BULL GRAPPLING of early Crete is well known from the famous fresco painting found in the Palace of Minos at Knossos. This scene, painted sometime before 1500 B.C., shows a young lady grasping the horns of a charging bull, another person somersaulting along the bull's spine, and still another standing behind the bull to help the second person to the ground. Not so well known, perhaps, are almost identical scenes of comparable age which have been found much closer to China. These occur on seals and clay sealings from the Indus Valley, and correspond so closely to the Cretan portrayals of this subject that some relationship might be suspected. Even less well known are the vigorous illustrations of bull grappling found in early Chinese reliefs.

The bull is an old and universal symbol of power and violence, fertility and virility, and is thus understandably ubiquitous in primitive representational art. The custom of holding public contests between bulls or between bulls and men is an ancient and widespread one. Its origin is apparently to be sought in some form of nature worship, and it almost always forms part of a ritual observance, often connected with the fertility of crops. In China, even in recent times, bulls made of earthenware or paper symbolized Spring, and beating them hastened the advent of this season and its crops. Sometimes a real bull was slain so that his vigor might pass into the newly planted crops and bring about an abundant yield.

About thirty years ago numerous bas-reliefs of the Han period were discovered in central China which clearly demonstrate that the early Chinese practised bull grappling. The accidental discovery in 1927 of a subterranean stone tomb near Nanyang in Honan Province and subsequent finds in this region provide many examples of a vigorous style of animal art from the latter part of the Han dynasty (first and second centuries A.D.). There is much pictorial material on stone from this period in Shantung Province in the northeast and from Szechwan Province in the southwest, but the Nanyang

reliefs are very different from those in other areas. The most obvious differences are the greater freedom and vigor of the draftsmanship and the large number of combat scenes between animals or men and animals in the Nanyang reliefs. Although these bull-grappling scenes do not exactly parallel those from Crete and the Indus Valley, all of them probably had their origins in a similar ritualistic practice.

The Nanyang reliefs illustrating bull fighting or bull grappling may be divided into two general types: contests between two animals, and contests between men and animals. The word bull is used here in a general sense to indicate a fierce male animal with general bovine characteristics ranging from naturalistic to imaginary.

THE FIRST TYPE, represented by at least six reliefs (Figure 1), shows two bull-like beasts charging each other or standing with interlocked horns. They are always winged and appear to have only one horn, which may be the result of profile drawing. This type of bull fighting still survives in some parts of China and several descriptions of these contests exist. The most interesting and detailed of these appears in a nineteenth-century collection of miscellaneous notes, the *Yung Hsien Chai Pi Chi*, by Ch'en Ch'i-chih. The author lived for sixteen years in a part of Chekiang Province where this type of bull-fight was held every spring and autumn. A few extracts will give a good idea of these contests as well as of Ch'en's powers of observation and wit:

"... On the day of the contest, thousands of people come to see it. The arena is four or five acres of cultivated ground. All along the edges of the field platforms, tables and stools are placed for the use of the guests as well as for people from the villages, including women, the old and the young. Hawkers selling cakes, melons, fruit and tobacco come in swarms with much hubbalo and horseplay.

"When the bull comes to the arena he is led by a man

Bull Grappling continued

striking a large bell. Golden flowers are put on his head and red silk on his body. His attendants number about thirty or forty. When they come onto the fields, the two contesting families each ask four strong men to flank their bulls as escorts. The two bulls are brought together, and after glaring at each other for some time, they move forward to fight. They attack with their horns and take advantage of every opportunity and opening, and thus each one displays his skill.

"After three to five rounds, the two families separate the bulls and take them out under guard. The spectators are not sure which won or lost, but the owners have already privately decided on the winner. The relatives and friends on the winning side all follow the bull, shouting and yelling as if announcing the victory. The bull himself is rather haughty and walks slowly toward his home. The losing bull is downcast and even the people about him hang their heads and are depressed. The bull which is defeated only by a narrow margin can still build up his strength to fight again for the championship. But if he is decisively defeated, he is killed and eaten, because his spirit is broken and he can fight no more. . . .

"The winning family gives a big party and important friends fill the seats. The host, working his brows and gesturing with his hands, boasts of his bull's ability. . . .

"During its training, the bull sleeps with green silk curtains around it, it is fed on white rice and the best quality wine is made for it to drink. When friends and relatives come to visit and are invited by its owner to drink, he always tells the servant: 'Be careful not to bring the bull's wine.' When the visitors hear this, they think it due to the relations between guest and host; they have no idea that the bull's wine is of the very best quality and that guests are not allowed to drink it. . . .

"Members of the family from which the bull is purchased are called 'bull relatives,' and the bull's keeper is called 'bull uncle.' The closest blood relatives of the owner are not esteemed so highly as the 'bull relatives.'"

It is interesting to note that during the Han period a "butting contest" was a popular sport or military exercise in which men literally took the part of bulls. According to numerous Han dynasty texts, historical and poetical, strong men fastened mounted bull horns to their heads and attempted to subdue each other by butting. One of the Nanyang reliefs clearly represents a similar contest, but both of the men are armed with cudgels and only one is wearing horns. Figure 2, taken from an encyclopedia printed in 1609 and probably drawn after literary evidence rather than actual observation, illustrates this particular type of butting contest.



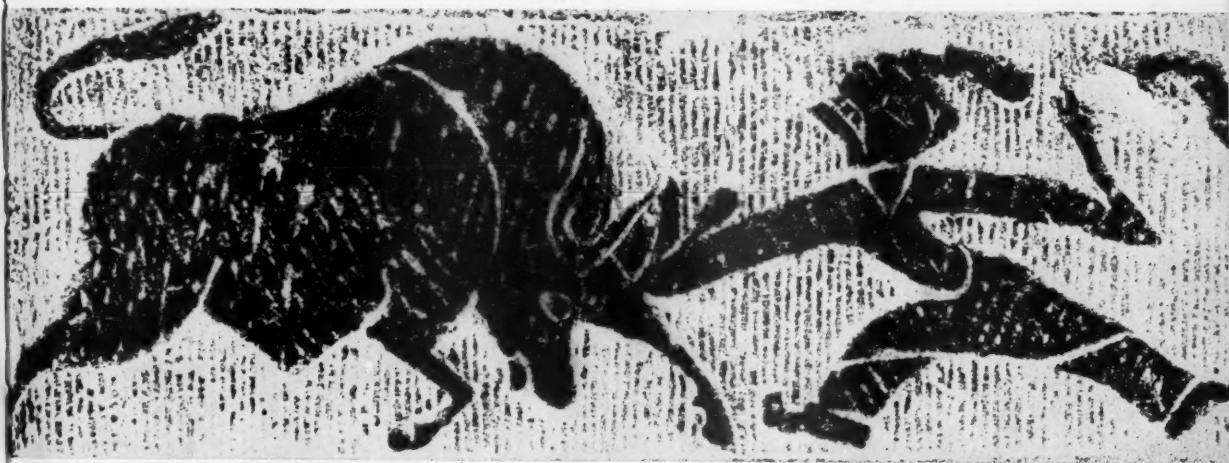
2. Illustration from an encyclopedia of two men engaged in a "butting contest." Both wear bulls' heads.

THE SECOND TYPE of bull fighting, the contest between man and bull, is not practised in modern China but we have excellent illustrations of it in the Nanyang reliefs and references to it in the contemporary Han literature. Figure 3 shows a man running toward a charging bull and grasping one of its horns with his left hand. One cannot determine from this rubbing whether or not the man is wearing a mask, but clearly shown is a peculiar type of coiffure that stands straight out from the man's head. In Figure 4, a man seems to be warding off a bull's charge rather than attacking it as in the previous scene. This man also has an unusual face and a prominent coiffure as long as his head. In the detail from a large rubbing shown in Figure 5, a strange-looking man is attacking a charging bull by grasping a horn with his left hand.

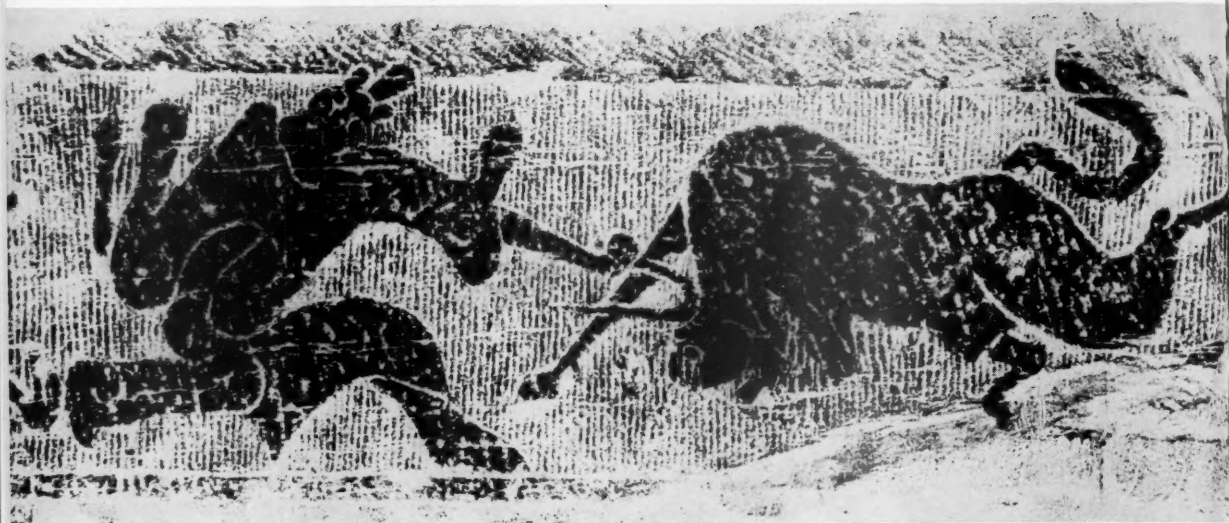
The animals in these three reliefs, with the possible exception of Figure 5, seem to be naturalistic representations of an earthly type of taurine creature, but the one in Figure 6 is quite different. This rubbing shows a man with a peculiar headdress or coiffure challenging or attacking a powerfully charging winged beast with a single long horn and a trident-shaped tail. The spirals at the ends of the man's arms are probably a device to indicate kinetic energy on his part, to balance the dynamics of the charging animal. They undoubtedly represent that type of sleeve in Chinese dress, still to be seen in Chinese operas, which is much longer than the arm and has an opening at wrist level through which the arm may be



3. Detail of second-century relief from Nanyang showing a man with a strange coiffure attacking a charging bull. A startled bear is running away to the left. The entire relief is 106 × 14 inches. (This and following figures are rubbings from reliefs.)



4. Detail of a Nanyang relief showing bull grappling as practised in first and second-century China. A maned animal, either a lion or a wild horse, is running away from the scene on the right. The entire relief is 41 × 10 inches.



5. Relief showing a man seizing a bull's horn with his left hand while fending off with his right an over-sized tiger that is attempting to attack him from the rear. The entire relief measures 58 × 13 inches.



6. Nanyang relief with scene similar to that above. A man in strange headdress attacks a fantastic winged beast. 52 × 13 inches.

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7. Detail from a relief similar to Figure 6 except for the substitution for the winged bovine of a huge feline resembling a tiger. The entire relief is 68 × 15 inches.

Bull Grappling continued

thrust. Another rubbing of this same relief shows the man's left hand protruding from the sleeve and reaching for the animal's horn. The same kind of sleeve appears in Figure 2.

Considerable information on these combat scenes may be found in some of the *fu*, a type of poetical essay found in the *Wen Hsüan*, an anthology of poetry and prose written between the third century B.C. and A.D. 502. Some of these essays are concerned with imperial hunts, while others, especially those written by the brilliant astronomer and mathematician Chang Heng (A.D. 78-139), describe the capitals of early China.

From these and other *fu* we learn that at regular times imperial hunts were carried out on a truly regal scale. Hundreds or thousands of beaters would be employed to drive all types of game into areas where it could be easily attacked. Among the weird beasts that were captured during these drives were fearsome, non-indigenous animals that had been presented as tribute from distant regions, and still stranger and more dangerous beasts were conceived in the writer's imagination. Many unreal animals occur in Chinese mythology, and some early sources like the *Shan Hai Ching* ("Classic of Hills and Waters") describe literally hundreds of fantastic creatures, ranging from animal to human, which are composites of others, real or imaginary, in all possible combinations. It appears doubtful, however, that the artist always had the mythological mutation in mind as his model for the weird beasts that appear in the Nanyang reliefs. It seems quite possible that at times he must have been trying to represent all the swift, powerful, dangerous and frightening aspects of the animal world against which man could stand. This may well be the inspiration for the creature in Figure 6, although one-horned animals are described in the *Shan Hai Ching*.

From Chang Heng's "Description of the Western

Capital" we receive a vivid impression of men similar to those shown in Figures 3, 4 and 5:

"Then stout fellows like the famous animal fighter Chung-Huang, and men with the strength and bravery of the two heroes Yü and Huo, bind up their hair with red ribbons so that it stands up like a stick. Stripped to the waist, and with outthrust hands and widespread legs, they stride this way and that." The hairdress of the men in these three reliefs is obviously of this type, but in no case is the body bared. Other *fu* tell of visiting "barbarians" from the far north who were invited to attack fierce animals barehanded in order to prove their bravery and prowess, and of daredevils without weapons who seized wild animals by the legs and "leaped on the backs of six-colored beasts." All of the men in these three scenes have strange and "un-Chinese" faces (if they are not masked), and it may be that they are intended to represent the visiting barbarians.

Figure 7 shows an excellent attempt to portray man's courage and his determination to subdue natural forces. This dynamic figure with strange headdress is leaping forward, shouting, no doubt screaming his defiance, at a huge tiger rushing toward him.

With the exception of Figure 6, the bull-grappling scenes illustrated here are details from large reliefs which contain other animals, generally ferocious in aspect and suggestive of the hunt, and still other Nanyang reliefs show armed men in combat with such animals. Thus the Nanyang combat scenes differ in general from those of Crete and India, and yet there are some similarities in the details actually concerned with bull grappling. In the Nanyang scenes, the man is barehanded as in the Minoan, and he seems to be preparing to do something in the nature of an acrobatic stunt. He could scarcely be expected to kill such a powerful beast without weapons of any kind. Is the seizure of the horn with the left hand, in Figures 3 and 5, preparatory to leaping upon the bull's back, or to our own western-style bulldogging?

The bulls of the Nanyang reliefs must eventually have been slain. Was this merely the result of a hunt for sport, or was some element of ritual sacrifice involved? The non-Chinese Miao tribes of southwest China still kill bulls ritually after a fight and keep their horns as cult objects—a practice which reminds one of the importance of the bull throughout the ancient world.

DR. RUDOLPH, who usually teaches at the University of California, Los Angeles, is now at the Academia Sinica in Formosa. With the aid of a Guggenheim Fellowship and a Fulbright Research Grant, he has been working on a history of Chinese archaeology. Since writing "Early Bas-Reliefs from West China" (*ARCHAEOLOGY* 6 [1953] 24-29), Dr. Rudolph has been continuing his study of Chinese reliefs, and his book, *The Bas-Reliefs of Nanyang*, is now in press.



TYNDARIS: Last Colony of the Sicilian Greeks

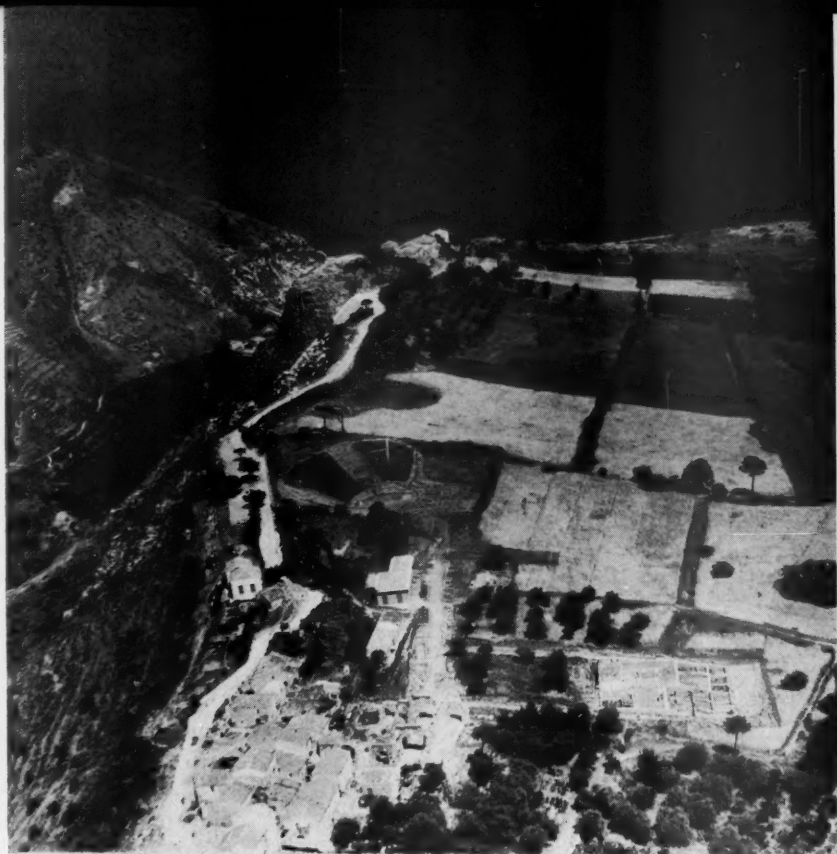
By R. Koss Holloway



Tyndaris seen from the east. The ancient town is situated on top of the high rock, beyond the Basilica of the Black Virgin which is visible on the summit.

TYNDARIS is a Sicilian Rock of Gibraltar. Its precipitous peak towers fully one thousand feet above the sea and dominates the narrow plain that separates it from the coastal mountains of northeastern Sicily. Its position guards the passage between Sicily and the Lipari Islands. In antiquity, when vessels preferred not to venture beyond sight of land, this was a major shipping lane leading from North Africa and the cities of western Sicily through the Straits of Messina to Italy and to Greece. Today, however, Tyndaris is a picturesque hamlet numbering hardly one hundred inhabitants, most of whose whitewashed houses are built into the ruins of the ancient city. The vacationer is attracted here by a temperate climate, the wide beaches at the base of the cliffs, and a panoramic view, while the pilgrim is drawn to Tyndaris by the basilica of the famous Black Virgin.

Unlike the other Greek colonies in Sicily, which were settled from the eighth through the sixth century B.C., historic Tyndaris was not founded until 396 B.C. Its establishment as a Syracusan military outpost reflects the



Air view of Tyndaris. In the center foreground is the Roman basilica, in right foreground a Roman villa; in the center is the theater, and at upper left the steep cliffs above the sea.

course of warfare both in Sicily and in the Greek homeland. After a decade in which the Carthaginians repeatedly conquered the Sicilian Greeks and sacked Himera and the great south-coast cities of Selinus and Acragas, Dionysius I, the young tyrant of Syracuse, undertook a successful counter-offensive. Messina was re-established on the straits that bear its name, and Tyndaris was founded as an outpost on the sea passage to the west. The first colonists, however, were not Sicilians. They were a company of Peloponnesian Messenians, a people who had long suffered from Spartan oppression and who had been expelled from their last refuges at Zacynthus and Naupactus at the end of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.). Their ancestral cult of Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri, came with them. These twin brothers of Helen of Troy were patrons of seamen as well as legendary warriors. They were called the Tyndaridae after their foster-father Tyndareus, and thus the colony was named Tyndaris.

Favored by the military successes of the tyrant Diony-

sus, the city grew rapidly. Within a few years, the historian Diodorus reports, the population had increased from the initial fifteen hundred to five thousand citizens. However, the death of Dionysius I in 367 and the expulsion of his son Dionysius II in 356 brought civil war to Syracuse. The Punic menace to Greek Sicily again assumed grave proportions, until the cities were rescued from the Carthaginians and from their own tyrants by the expedition of the Corinthian general Timoleon (345-337). Diodorus states that Tyndaris supported Timoleon's liberation movement, but otherwise we know nothing of its role during this period and the subsequent decades in which Agathocles of Syracuse (318-289) expelled the Carthaginians from the island and for the first time carried the Greek attack into Africa.

This serious gap in the historical record is now being illuminated by archaeological research. Systematic excavation and restoration are being carried out at Tyndaris under the supervision of Professor L. Bernabò Brea, Director of Antiquities for Eastern Sicily. [An attractive



Part of the city walls on the inland side. The modern road follows approximately the line of the ancient walls.



The theater, showing some of the ancient seats preserved. Note the manner in which the orchestra has been adapted to the form of a Roman amphitheater. Festivals of ancient drama are now held biennially in the theater.



Remains of one of the towers which flank the city gate.

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The Roman basilica, the most imposing building at Tyndaris, seen from the west. Within the arch at the extreme right is the ramp leading to the second story.

Tyndaris continued

new museum on the site houses recent finds.—Ed.] Excavation has revealed that the imposing city walls were constructed during the period of Timoleon or Agathocles. Double-faced curtain walls connecting a regular system of bastions and deep gates, they embody the most advanced principles of Greek military architecture of the day. The walls protected the city completely on the land side. They are especially interesting because of the large number of masons' marks on individual blocks. Such marks, which are found elsewhere—on the Servian Wall of Rome, for example—probably identify the stones as products of one quarry or quarry gang. Intended as a practical aid in the builders' accounting, for the archaeologist they are a help in dating the construction of the wall.

The city's fortifications were put to good use again after the death of Agathocles (289). Tyndaris joined the new tyrant of Syracuse, Hieron II (274-215), to combat the Mamertines, freebooting mercenaries who had established themselves at Messina. Once again Tyndaris became a Syracusan border fortress. But Syracusan control was brief. Sometime before 264 the Carthaginians reoccupied Tyndaris and stocked it as a supply depot for their fleet. That year saw the intervention of Rome in the quarrels of Syracuse and the Mamertines, which

brought on the First Punic War. The beginning of the struggle found the unnatural combination of Syracuse and Carthage opposed to the Roman-Mamertine alliance, but in 262 Hieron II joined Rome against Syracuse's ancient enemy Carthage.

The fate of the western Mediterranean was at stake, and from Tyndaris' strategic heights citizens watched two of the major naval battles of the war. In 260 Caius Duilius' fleet, supplied with advanced grappling and boarding machines, won Rome's first naval victory at Cape Mylae, some miles to the east. The success of Regulus off Tyndaris in 257 opened the way for his ill-starred expedition to Africa. Yet despite Roman victories at sea, Tyndaris remained a Carthaginian stronghold until the entire north coast of Sicily fell into Roman hands in 254. Subsequently, Tyndaris became a prosperous city of the Roman province of Sicily. In the Second Punic War (218-202) her sailors fought for Scipio Africanus in the final campaign which overcame Carthage. Scipio himself honored Tyndaris with the gift of a statue of Mercury which, at a later date, the infamous governor Verres looted from the city, together with an embossed table service which caught his eye. Cicero gives the details in his brief for the prosecution of Verres (*Against Verres* II.4.22 and 39-42). During the civil wars that marked the end of the Roman Republic, Tyndaris' strategic position was again important. Sextus Pompey's hold on



Quarry mark (E) on a block of the city wall.

Tyndaris continued

Sicily was secure until in 36 Augustus gained a foothold at Tyndaris. The city served as a base through which he poured the troops and supplies which assured his victory. A Roman settlement followed and Tyndaris became *Colonia Augusta Tyndaritanorum*.

Little is known of the city's history under imperial rule, but before the end of the first century A.D. Tyndaris had suffered heavily from earthquake. Probably caused by volcanic action of Aetna such as that which leveled the modern city of Messina in 1908, the ensuing avalanche carried half of Tyndaris into the Mediterranean. Yet the city survived the disaster. Byzantine houses have come to light during the current excavations, and the names of bishops of Tyndaris are known up to the ninth century. At this point the record ceases completely, and it seems probable that the Arab invasions were responsible for the abandonment of the ancient city.

Tyndaris' role in history was not confined to the value of her military position. The cultural paths of Greek and Roman crossed here as well. In this respect the theater at Tyndaris, of the second century B.C., is an important monument. Together with its contemporary at Segesta, it had an unusually high stage for a Greek theater and a remarkably elaborate *scene*, or scene building, which served as a backdrop for the plays. One of the major differences between the Roman theater and its Greek counterpart was the high Roman stage and its lavish *scene*. The theaters of Tyndaris and Segesta show that in Sicily, the home of the broadly comic mime, there existed stage constructions which may well have influenced the production of the early comedies staged at Rome in the second century and, consequently, the entire development of the Roman theater.

The auditorium of the theater at Tyndaris is partially

hollowed out of the hillside against which it is built, partially bedded on an artificial bank of earth. In the Roman imperial period the lower banks of seats were cut away and the orchestra was transformed into the shape of an amphitheater. In the new arrangement, the lowest banks of seats were left well above the orchestra floor, protected from combats and animal shows. Hydraulic equipment provided for the water spectacles familiar to the Roman arena.

The imposing structure commonly known as the "basilica" spans the main street leading to the theater. Built in the first century B.C., the plan is a central arched hall with a parallel arched passage at each side. The central hall is flanked by niches which may once have held some of the Roman sculpture from Tyndaris now in the Museo Nazionale in Palermo. A series of shops, or *tabernae*, lined the outer walls of the side passages. Above the shops on the south a ramp supported on concrete arches gave access to the roof of the building. The roof terrace, which was undoubtedly utilized for commercial purposes, provided a splendid view of Cape Mylae and of the Straits of Messina on the east, the volcanic Lipari Islands on the north, and the peak of Aetna rising over the Nebrodes range to the south. In some respects the basilica at Tyndaris is an early example of the many-storied commercial buildings spanning a street or court, such as the Market of Trajan in Rome. In other respects it is an elaboration of the idea of the colonnaded street, which is known in Italy, at Herculaneum for example, but may have originated in the eastern cities of the Hellenistic world. Greek and Roman elements are also united in the construction, where dry stone masonry in the local tradition is found together with Roman cement vaulting. The basilica exemplifies in permanent form the boast which Cicero uttered for the citizens of Tyndaris:

"We are counted among the seventeen favored states of Sicily; in the Punic and Sicilian Wars we always remained faithful allies of Rome; and Rome has received every aid from us in war, every respect in peace."
(*Against Verres* II.5.124)

And in a broader sense it expresses the possibilities of cooperation between Hellenic and Roman civilization.

THE AUTHOR became interested in the attractive site he describes for us here while a member of the Princeton University Expedition to Sicily in 1958 and 1959. A graduate of Amherst (A.B. 1956), University of Pennsylvania (A.M. 1957) and Princeton (Ph.D. 1960), he is at present in Rome as a Fellow of the American Academy for 1960-61.

All photographs, except first and last, from Fototeca di architettura e topografia dell'Italia antica, Rome.

A SCULPTURE FROM SALZBURG

By Kurt Willvonseder

Director, Museum Carolino-Augustium, Salzburg



THE REGION OF SALZBURG—where was found the interesting sculptured head shown here—has not only a long Celtic history but also a considerable prehistoric past. As early as the Bronze Age the eastern Alpine area of the Austrian provinces of Tyrol and Salzburg was important for its copper mines. Industrial centers were developed, and some of the copper-bearing lodes were worked for as long as a thousand years. Eventually the mines were closed down at the end of the Urnfield period, early in the first millennium B.C., but another industry, salt-mining, arose, and a new peak of prosperity was reached during the Iron Age with the exploitation of the salt mines of Hallstatt (Upper Austria) and of Dürrnberg, near Hallein, south of Salzburg. From discoveries made during the past thirty years it is evident that during the early and middle phases of the Latène period (450 B.C. to the Christian era) Dürrnberg replaced Hallstatt in importance. Reinforcement for this idea was produced with the discovery of finds of exceptional interest when, in 1959, during leveling for a recreation area on the Dürrnberg, mound graves with rich contents were revealed. The finds included a typical Celtic helmet, a "pilgrim bottle," the metal bands for two wooden

flagons and a great number of implements and ornaments such as a miniature boat of gold with two oars, and bracelets and fibulae of bronze. These discoveries bring the province of Salzburg into full focus in any discussion of Celtic art and civilization.

In 1956, when parts of the rambling castle of Hohensalzburg were being repaired, a sculptured stone head, known as "the Roman head," was removed from the place above the main gate where it had been built into the wall centuries before. It was placed in the Burgmuseum, which was set up by the authorities of the Museum Carolino-Augustium of Salzburg in the so-called "Old Bishops' rooms" of the castle. Here there was an opportunity to observe it, and one could perceive at a glance that it was anything but Roman, whether Classical or provincial. Although it is difficult to place the head stylistically or to date it, there are some leads toward a closer determination. Because of the fact that hitherto the distinguishing marks of the Celtic and Romanesque styles have been insufficiently analyzed, we find great difficulty in dating exactly sculptures which may be either Celtic or mediaeval. Every expert in Romanesque art who was consulted about the "Roman"



Profile views of the marble head which was found built into the wall of the Hohensalzburg castle in Austria.



Detail of the Gundestrup bowl, showing a warrior with a headdress resembling a knitted cap.

Salzburg continued

head denied any possibility of a Romanesque or pre-Romanesque origin. Therefore the idea of a Celtic origin, or at least Celtic tradition, was taken into consideration.

The life-sized head is carved from a block of Untertersberg marble and consequently must be the work of a local artist. The Untertersberg, situated three miles south of the city of Salzburg, is famous for the marble quarries which have supplied material for sculpture and architecture, exported since time immemorial far beyond the borders of the province of Salzburg. Our marble head shows certain identifying marks which experts in Celtic art such as F. Benoit, P. Lambrechts and R. Lantier consider typically Celtic: the strict frontality of the face, the hollow cheeks which make the cheek-bones protrude, the nose with its straight Greek profile, the protruding oval eyes and the mouth like a circumflex. As peculiarities of our sculpture we may mention the pupils of the eyes, which are indicated by slight hollows, and the broad chin and strange mouth which together give the face a feeling of brutality. Above the eyes the head is carved in vertical ridges. Apparently this is not intended to reproduce a stylized form of hairdress such as is shown on many Celtic sculptured figures, chiefly those found in southern France, but more likely a knitted cap like those worn by warriors and by a god portrayed on the Gundestrup silver

bowl, which belongs in the Latène period and was certainly an import into Denmark, where this notable vessel was found.

The Hohensalzburg head is not from a statue or a relief but rather from a herm or a pillar, to judge from the pedestal-like lower part. It might have belonged to the image of a god or a hero. Celtic sculptures of this type should not be considered attempts to reproduce a human head together with part of the trunk; instead they seem to indicate that the head counted for the whole person. The reproduction of the head as *pars pro toto* is a characteristic trait of prehistoric Celtic art. Some indication of date is shown by the method of indicating the pupils of the eyes, which was not customary in Gaul in the period before the Roman occupation. It is probable that our head does not antedate the Roman occupation of the province of Noricum (roughly Austria except Tyrol and Vorarlberg) in 16 B.C. Celtic civilization and tradition were still active when the Romans were in control of this territory, and the worship of Celtic gods did not cease until the third century at the earliest. In any case, whether representing god or hero, the sculpture from the castle of Hohensalzburg may be considered one of the outstanding archaeological discoveries made in Austria since World War II. New light is now thrown on the final phase of the Late Iron Age and the continuance of Celtic tradition in Austria, particularly in the Salzburg area, at the beginning of the Christian era.

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ADAM'S ANCESTOR

By Francis R. Walton

THE FIGURE OF ADAM in the Creation scene of the Sistine Chapel ceiling (Figure 1) is one of the noblest and most moving of Michelangelo's works. This, we feel, is Adam as he should be, essential man, at once an individual and a representative of all that man is and may become. In its ideal, archetypal quality the Sistine Adam reminds us, indeed, of Classical Greek art at its best.

That Michelangelo was familiar with earlier Italian representations of the scene may be safely assumed, but there is little direct evidence for his immediate sources of inspiration. For this reason, and perhaps in part because the painting itself is so completely satisfying, there has apparently been little effort to explore its possible antecedents. So Charles De Tolnay, in his exhaustive study of Michelangelo, is content to say: "The reclining pose of Adam broadly resembles Quercia's, Ghiberti's and Uccello's corresponding figures. It is, however, even more similar to certain ancient figures like the so-called 'Theseus' in the east pediment of the Parthenon and a bronze relief found at Olynthus, as noted by D. M. Robinson." (*Michelangelo II: The Sistine Chapel* [Princeton 1945] 137; cf. page 35.)

A glance at the Adams of della Quercia, Ghiberti and Uccello (Figures 2, 3) is sufficient to show the extent of Michelangelo's debt to his predecessors. The similarities, though evident, are chiefly such as the theme itself imposes. Ghiberti's comes closest, as we might expect: Michelangelo's admiration for this artist's work is well known, and it was he who called Ghiberti's second doorway for the Baptistery at Florence "The Gates of Para-

dise." Even so, the pose is basically different. Whereas Ghiberti's figure has almost reached a sitting position, partly drawn up by the hand of the Creator, partly supported on his own tensed right arm, the just awakening Adam of the Sistine Chapel is still relaxed, with head and shoulders raised but the weight of the torso resting on his right elbow. Above all, the Sistine Adam impresses us, more even perhaps than the partly detached figure of Ghiberti, by its marked three-dimensional and sculptural quality, the quality that we regularly find in the paintings of Michelangelo, especially in his male nudes. When we turn, therefore, to the marble "Theseus" (Figure 4), which is so strikingly similar in pose, we feel almost a shock of recognition, despite the difference in the dramatic and spiritual significance of the two works. Here indeed is a worthy ancestor to the Sistine Adam; Robinson's passing observation was apt. Yet it is certain beyond question that Michelangelo never saw the Athenian monument. Any possible influence from this source seems to be ruled out, and not even to warrant discussion.

There are, however, two possible links with the Parthenon sculpture that deserve to be explored. Throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, until the capture of Athens by the Turks in 1456, a Florentine family, the Acciaiuoli, held power there as "Dukes of Athens." During their rule, in 1436 and again in 1444, the Italian antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona visited Athens and sketched a number of the monuments. Unfortunately, the six manuscript volumes of *Commentarii* by Cyriacus



1. Michelangelo's *Adam*, detail of the Sistine Chapel ceiling. While the entire project occupied the artist for nearly four years, 1508-1512, this scene can be dated to the period January-August, 1511. From *The Painting of Michelangelo* (Phaidon Press 1939).



3. Paolo Uccello, *Creation of Adam*, in the Chiostro Verde, S. Maria Novella, Florence. The fresco (dating probably from the period 1431-1436) is contemporary with Ghiberti's *Creation*, and may be influenced by it. From John Pope-Hennessy, *The Complete Work of Paolo Uccello* (Phaidon Press 1950).

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2. Left: Jacopo della Quercia, *Creation of Adam*. Marble relief from the main portal of S. Petronio, Bologna, 1425-1428. Right: Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Creation of Adam*. Detail of the Genesis panel on Ghiberti's second doors. Gilt bronze, cast about 1437. From John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (Phaidon Press 1955).

Adam's Ancestor continued

perished in 1514, in the fire that destroyed the library of the Sforzas at Pesaro, and only isolated fragments of his travel notes and sketches survive. A drawing of the west façade of the Parthenon is (or was) in the Berlin Museum, and the manuscript sketchbook of Giuliano da Sangallo, in the Vatican Library (*Codex Vaticanus Barberinianus Latinus* 4424, edited by C. Huelsen, 1910), contains another drawing of the Parthenon that is demonstrably derived from Cyriacus. This too shows the west façade, and in addition some of the metopes and parts of the frieze. Though no drawing is known to exist of the east façade or its pediment, it is worth noting that Sangallo's sketch includes a group of seated gods from the east frieze. It is quite possible, therefore, that among the drawings of Cyriacus now lost there was one of the east pediment and its sculptures. Sangallo began his manuscript in 1465, and added to it through the years. It is perhaps significant that the drawings based on Cyriacus fall in the last years of his life. Huelsen dates them to about 1510 and after, but a date a few years earlier would not be incompatible with the evidence. This means that Sangallo had access to the sketches of

Cyriacus at just about the time that Michelangelo was beginning work on the Sistine ceiling—a time, moreover, when Michelangelo and Sangallo were in close contact; according to Vasari, Sangallo even had some part in getting his young friend the Sistine commission. Clearly, whatever drawings of Cyriacus Sangallo saw at this period, Michelangelo may also have seen. Could we only be sure that Cyriacus had drawn the "Theseus," Sangallo would be a likely channel to bring the old traveler's work to Michelangelo's attention.

HERE, PARENTHETICALLY, another question arises. Cyriacus was contemporary with Ghiberti and, as we happen to know, was acquainted with him. Ghiberti, too, was an ardent amateur of antiquities, and on his death in 1455 left a valuable collection, though Cyriacus, who visited him in 1434, noted that his house then contained only a few "old and new" bronze and marble statues. Granted their association and mutual interests, could Ghiberti, one wonders, have been influenced by his friend's travels in Greece? So far as the Baptistery doors are concerned, the answer apparently is clear. Though the entire work on the Gates of Paradise occupied Ghiberti for twenty-seven years, from 1425 to 1452, it has been

Adam's Ancestor continued

established that the work of modeling and casting all ten panels had been completed by April 4, 1437 (possibly 1436). Moreover, it is probable that the Genesis panel was the first, or among the first, to be modeled (Richard Krautheimer, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* [Princeton 1956] 167, 192, 305). But Cyriacus' first visit to Athens was in April 1436, and it was some months before he returned to Italy, where we find him in Venice on August 21. The chronology is therefore virtually decisive: the hypothetical drawing by Cyriacus of the "Theseus" is not reflected in Ghiberti's version of the Creation. Krautheimer, indeed, is satisfied that the immediate model for the Adam of both Ghiberti and Uccello is a figure on the Adonis sarcophagus, now in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome.

To return to Michelangelo, we should now consider the case for the second possibility. There is a South-Italian Greek coin, a *stater* of Heraclea in Lucania, minted (according to Seltman) about 430 B.C. The obverse of the coin bears the head of Athena; on the reverse (Figure 5) Heracles, like the Adam, reclines in a relaxed pose, leaning on one elbow, with the other arm outstretched (holding a cup) and one knee drawn sharply up. Mrs. Lehmann, to be sure, relates the figure on the coin not to the "Theseus" but to a somewhat similar Heracles who appears on a coin of Croton (Phyllis W. Lehmann, *Statues on Coins of Southern Italy and Sicily* [New York 1946] 40 ff., especially page 42, note 16). This she would derive, in turn, from a lost fifth-century statue, presumably a cult-statue of that city, but the evidence, especially for her claim that the Heraclea coin is "clearly dependent" on the Croton type, is hardly conclusive.

On the other hand it is suggestive, if no more, that the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon date from the period 438-433 B.C., and that Heraclea was founded just afterward, in 433/2. There seems to be general agreement that the Athena-Heracles stater belongs to the first coinage issued by the new city (cf. Eunice Work, *The Earlier Staters of Heraclea Lucaniae* [New York 1940] 11). The predominance of Athena types in the South-Italian coinage of this period need not, as Seltman claimed (*A Book of Greek Coins* [London 1952] 19), indicate growing Athenian influence in the area, for Athena was worshiped throughout the Greek world, not only at Athens. The fact remains, however, that the Heracles of the Heraclea stater very closely resembles the "Theseus," and the date makes it possible that it could be a conscious adaptation of one of the Parthenon sculptures, then the most recent work of the acknowledged master of the day, Phidias.

While it is certain that Michelangelo never saw the original "Theseus," and no more than possible that he knew a drawing of it, it is not at all out of the question that he could have been familiar with the Heraclea coin. Lorenzo the Magnificent, at whose school of sculpture in the Medici gardens the young Michelangelo spent several years, was an avid collector of antiquities of all sorts, Greek and Roman coins included, as is shown by contemporary records, including the inventory of 1492 (E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XV^e siècle* [Paris 1888] 57, 79, 99). Since the Medici collections were largely dispersed after Lorenzo's death in 1492, we cannot now tell if the Heraclea stater was represented there, but it may have been. It is equally possible that Michelangelo saw the coin later, in Rome or elsewhere. Fifteen of the staters are now known to exist, but whether any of them can be traced to the Medici collection, or any other contemporary Italian collection, I have not been able to determine.

Admittedly, it is only a supposition that Michelangelo might have seen one of these coins or a drawing of the "Theseus" and that it influenced him in his design for the Adam. But there is one curious piece of evidence—circumstantial evidence, to be sure—which suggests that he did. Bernard Berenson (*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters* [Chicago 1938] I, 199) writes as follows: "I am not acquainted with original designs for any of the central compositions [of the Sistine ceiling] as a whole, and with few, indeed, of unquestionable certainty for any single part of them. But I scarcely can doubt that Mr. Sidney Colvin was right in his interpretation that a certain noble head in the Malcolm Collection (my 1522 verso, Fig. 621) [our Figure 6, left] is a study for the Adam in the Creation of Man. It is puzzling, however: more poetical by far than in the fresco, it yet is not quite so characteristic of Michelangelo, and the reversal of the position is strange, for it implies a reversal of the entire composition."

It implies a reversal of the entire composition. Is this, perhaps, the significant clue? For the chief difference between the Adam and the Heracles (or the "Theseus") is

THE AUTHOR is Head of the Department of Classics at Florida State University, and for the current academic year is Visiting Professor at Cornell University. He is a Fellow of the American Academy at Rome, and held a Fulbright grant (1956-57) at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. Dr. Walton edited and translated Diodorus of Sicily (Books 21-32) for the Loeb Classical Library, and he has contributed articles on Greek religion to a number of reference works.

For help received in connection with the present article he wishes especially to thank Dr. Eunice Work, Professors Chauncey E. Finch and Paul L. MacKendrick, and the Rev. Edward W. Bodnar, S.J.

5. Silver stater from Heraclea Lucaniae, in south Italy, a Greek city which stood on the site of the modern Policoro. The date of the foundation of the city, 433/2 B.C., is furnished by the historian Diodorus of Sicily. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



4. The so-called "Theseus" (probably Dionysus) attributed to Phidias. Pedimental sculpture from the east façade of the Parthenon, Athens. The original is now in the British Museum. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



6. *Left:* The "Malcolm Head," attributed to Michelangelo, now in the British Museum. Speaking of this drawing, Bernard Berenson once commented: "Perhaps in the whole range of Italian art there will not be found a head approaching nearer to the Greek type." *Right:* Studies for the Sistine Chapel ceiling, by Michelangelo. The sketch at the top, dated by Wilde to May 1508, when the artist was first beginning work on his new commission, shows an early plan for the decoration of the vaulted ceiling. The studies of arms and hands were added later, but according to Wilde are "probably not later than 1510." The date would be appropriate for preliminary studies of the Adam. From Johannes Wilde, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Michelangelo and His Studio* (1953).

Adam's Ancestor continued

precisely in the reversal of the position. What more natural, in fact, if Michelangelo did know the coin and derived his inspiration from it, than that his first sketches should place the figure as it appears there?

ANOTHER DRAWING (Figure 6, right), showing studies of arms and hands, may point in the same direction. J. Wilde (*Italian Drawings* . . . page 19), after noting that several critics have connected these studies with the figure of Adam, says of one of them: "But the position of the upper arm in the first study on the l[eft]-hand side is different from that in the fresco figure and shows that the body was bent forward and to the r[ight]. . . . Possibly the figure of Adam was differently conceived [our italics]; or, more likely, the studies may have been intended for another figure, e.g. a prophet or a sibyl, which was not carried out." Of the two alternatives suggested we may feel inclined to prefer the first. In fact,

the drawing of the arm is not unlike the right arm on the coin, and would fit well with a figure placed like the Heracles or the "Theseus." We have then two separate drawings which certain critics would like to associate with the Adam, one of a head, the other of an arm. These are among the very few drawings extant that have any serious claim to being regarded as studies for the Adam. Yet both show or imply that the figure was reversed. It seems a reasonable solution to suppose that at some stage in the evolution of his Creation scene, Michelangelo experimented with placing the reclining figure of Adam in the reverse position.

If this be so, it lends some support to the suggestion that the "Theseus" of the Parthenon was, through the intermediary either of a drawing by Cyriacus or of the Heraclea coin, the ultimate "model" for Michelangelo's Adam. Without further evidence, to be sure, the thesis cannot be proved, but even a possibility is attractive that would link two of the greatest names in European art, Phidias and Michelangelo.

THE OFF-BEAT IN EGYPTIAN ART

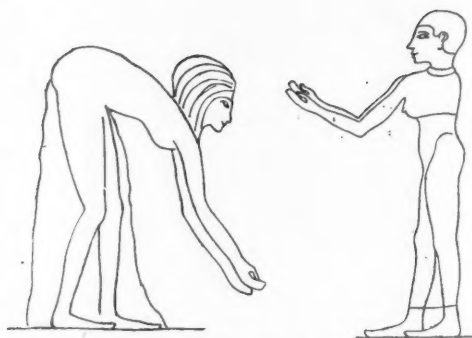
By Donald N. Wilber

IT WAS THE INTEREST over a hundred years ago in Egyptian antiquities which ushered in the era of modern archaeology and art history. Certainly it is reasonable to think that during this long lapse of time all the interesting aspects of the field must have been thoroughly studied, yet this is not the case. The literature on the field is extensive, but curiously unbalanced. Ardent scholars have given their lives to the study of the language and to trying to make an orderly system out of the maddening complexities and contradictions of Egyptian religion, but many problems of the nature and development of artistic expression in Egypt have been neglected. The general notions of the nature of this art stem from theories formulated in the middle of the last century which have not been seriously questioned. Most firmly rooted is the thesis regarding the persistence of tradition in ancient Egypt, tradition unchanging in religion and in the use of fixed and unevolving art forms. However, the boundaries within which tradition encompasses Egyptian art are more elastic than is commonly believed.

Ancient texts do not give definite information concerning the training of the Egyptian artist. They record close ties between writing and painting and the fact that most artists were listed under the general classification of "scribes." And indeed it appears that the same artist might be called upon to execute large-scale outlines for temple reliefs, paintings in the tombs, or text and drawings for papyri rolls. The artist himself was a member of officialdom, a priest or an associate of priests, and hence with respect for traditions. Most of his work was, naturally, connected with religion, and especially the concept of the after-

life. In the tombs he depicted objects which were in themselves too costly or too perishable to be placed in the tomb, as well as activities suitable to the status of the deceased. The artist progressed through a series of similar commissions. It was essential that he represent religious ideas without any variation; at the same time he had the obligation of pleasing successive patrons. The tomb of Houy, Governor of the South, has scenes with giraffes and negro tribes; in that of Nakht, who had charge of the palace grounds, all the decorations concern gardens or vine arbors; in the tomb of a number of military men groups of soldiers are shown. It is logical to believe that the artist would derive a certain amount of personal satisfaction in portraying those scenes of objective history and daily life which called his representational powers into full play. At the same time he was aware of sour-faced priest-inspectors looking over his shoulder, who would object to too many mundane scenes or any fantasy in the representation of such scenes. While stressing the fact that all artistic production was keyed to non-artistic motives, it cannot be denied that the products are true works of art—a happy outcome due to the sound aesthetic principles inherent in the artists' methods.

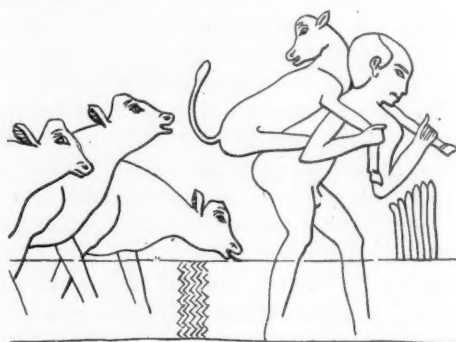
THE ARTIST'S METHOD was based on special formulae for rendering the human body, animals, plants, etc., which had been formulated and developed by great artists of the early dynasties—unknown mental giants, rivals in intuitive expression to Imhotep, the famous architect of Saqqara. The dramatic forcefulness and decorative content of these formulae were so great that in later ages only minor changes were introduced



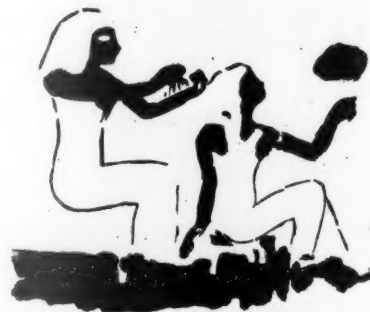
1. Side views of human figures. *Right*, the conventional profile; *left*, a naturalistic profile.



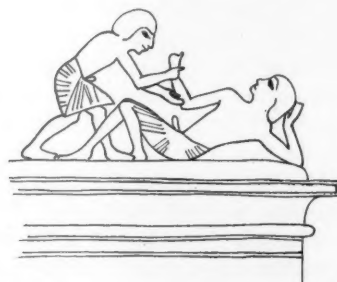
2. A seated man shown in frontal view.



4. Old Kingdom tomb scene from Saqqara, showing a servant with cattle.



3. Detail of a wall painting at Thebes, exemplifying the use of a technique in which solid color is applied first, and outlines are then added.



5. Scene from tomb of Apy at Thebes.

Egyptian Art continued

by subsequent artists into the early forms and themes.

We cannot overestimate the differences between the conceptions of the Egyptian artist and his modern counterpart. The Egyptian had no real freedom of choice. He was schooled and drilled with infinite pains and thoroughness in the catalogue of traditional forms, which conveyed the idea of an object rather than its actual appearance. We would never ask why none of these brilliant draftsmen ever hit upon the use of perspective if we stopped to realize that the discovery of perspective can only result from a system in which the visual images of

things become more important than the mental images. The Egyptian artist was expected to use the elements placed at his disposal but to compose and arrange the details of each scene according to his liking. The fact that he usually showed no startling ingenuity in his work is demonstrated by the very limited number of types of scenes presented in the tomb paintings. Anyone who has spent several consecutive days in the tombs of the nobles at Thebes will have been struck by the monotonous manner with which the same scenes of ritual worship, of hunting, fishing and working in the fields appear over and over again.

It would be an impossible assignment to separate



6. Detail of a scene showing guests at a banquet, from an XVIIIth Dynasty tomb now in Brussels.



7. Ostrakon preserving a fragment of a sketch of a crouching female figure.



9. Ostrakon showing successive steps of a religious ritual.



8. Ostrakon with a portrait sketch, perhaps of one of the artist's associates.

the decoration of a typical tomb into the work of artists A, B and C, and it is certain that there will never be any minor Egyptian artists known as the "Master of tomb 87 and tomb 101" or the "Master of the Hairless Herdsmen." Thus, the question must be posed as to what possible concrete ideas can be formed of the Egyptian artist as an emotional and imaginative individual. Not that we must look for expressions of free mental processes but only for evidence to show in what directions the artist could deviate from the limits of tradition. Such evidence does exist. For instance, there are examples of freedom in the drawing of the human figure. The standard formula for the figure, in which the profile,

three-quarter and frontal elements are combined is thoroughly familiar, and this figure is so familiar that it may be startling to find that in many cases the formula was deliberately avoided. Figure 1 shows the normal and the exceptional contrasted. On the right the position of the arms is according to standard, with each arm extended forward from an axial point in the middle of the back. At the left the shoulders and the arms are naturalistically done in true profile. Still more unusual is the frontal view of a seated man (Figure 2).

There are more striking indications that the master artists of every period could escape from the customary methods of technical procedure. It is well



10. Unfinished sketch on the wall of Tomb 123 at Thebes, showing the artists actually at work.



11. The Queen of Punt: at left, relief on the wall of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahri; at right, on an ostrakon (Berlin Museum).



12. Ostrakon on which is sketched an acrobatic dancer.

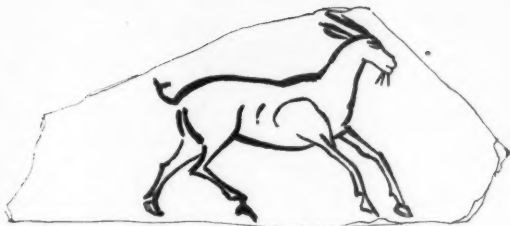
Egyptian Art continued

known that a network of guide-lines was used to cover wall surfaces to be decorated, so that the whole scene could be drawn in these squares according to the strict formulae governing the relative size and width of parts. However, the really skilful artist did not always use these guide-lines. He drew directly on the wall surface, using an axial line for each figure with check lines at knee and shoulder heights, or he drew without any mechanical aids. Even farther from tradition, the Egyptian artist sometimes executed his scene in areas of solid color, and only as the final step put in the outlines around the figures. Figure 3 shows the technique. The unusual informality of the figures shows that the artist sometimes tended to work directly from appearances rather than to use a synthesis of the parts of the body assembled in the traditional manner.

In a number of tomb scenes the artist has introduced informal groups which have a humorous connotation. From the Old Kingdom comes a scene in

raised relief (Figure 4), marvelous in its draftsman-ship as well as slyly comic in feeling. Just as unusual is a detail (Figure 5) from a large picture of a number of workmen engaged in putting the finishing touches on a wooden shrine ordered by Apy for his tomb. A workman has dozed off on top of the shrine itself and his comrade attempts to arouse him, calling his attention to the fact that Apy is just approaching to inspect the work. Many of these informal scenes doubtless owe their existence to the especially talented head artists. We have already seen that these men could draw without guide-lines—hence had the technical ability to sketch in a free style. It is in the actual tombs of artists, sculptors and engravers that many scenes of this type are found. An XVIIIth Dynasty tomb shows an informal detail of a banquet-ting scene (Figure 6). One of the guests is in difficulty: he has eaten and drunk, not wisely but too well, and is paying for it. His comrade may be annoyed or he may be trying to hold his friend's head.

UP TO THIS POINT all the details have been taken from



13. Ostrakon on which is painted the figure of a goat.



14. Flying duck, as portrayed on an ostrakon.



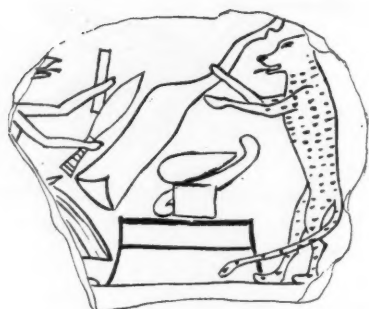
15. Young girl on horseback, a painting on an ostrakon.

tomb paintings. Even more strikingly different from the standard and the conventional are rapid sketches drawn on ostraca—flakes of limestone or broken bits of coarse pottery. Many of the ostraca are known to have been executed between the XVIIIth and the XXIIInd dynasties. Quite a number are studies of the human body, such as this charming sketch of the crouching female figure (Figure 7). Another delightful drawing (Figure 8) is a portrait head—minus the famous Egyptian profile—doubtless representing one of the artist's associates. Other sketches illustrate architects' preliminary plans for tombs, or drafts of rough layouts for wall decoration. Figure 9 shows in correct order the various steps of the ritual of the "Opening of the Mouth." The tomb executed according to this layout has been identified; the numbers written on the ostrakon refer to the number of columns of hieroglyphs on the walls of the tomb. It is even possible, in a unique and valuable scene from an unfinished tomb (Figure 10), to see the artists at work in a tomb, making use of ostraca to jot down their tentative ideas. With these drawings can be as-

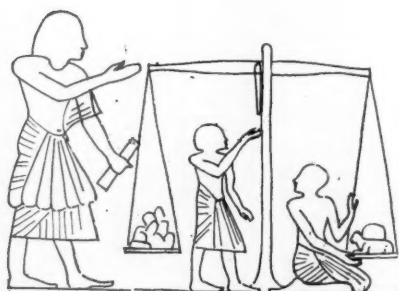
sociated the fairly numerous direct copies of single figures or groups. Figure 11 shows a typical one. On the left is the Queen of Punt as she appears in raised relief on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri; at the right is a direct copy on an ostrakon found in the temple area. Significant is the fact that the artist's mind seems to have been at work even as he copied, for he has changed the position of the arms.

Many ostraca show unconventional freedom in drawing or the use of informal subject matter carried far beyond the examples of the tomb paintings. Rapid and concise notations, they clearly reflect the momentary concepts of the artist as an individual rather than in his usual role as a machine for drawing, for ex-

DONALD N. WILBER has lived and traveled throughout the Middle East, first as an archaeologist and more recently as author, researcher and consultant on current social and political developments. His interest in Egyptian art stems from earlier residence at Luxor as an artist for the Oriental Institute. His many publications include: *Iran Past and Present*, *Architecture of Islamic Iran, Afghanistan and the forthcoming Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*.



16. Ostrakon preserving part of a scene in which animals act as butchers.



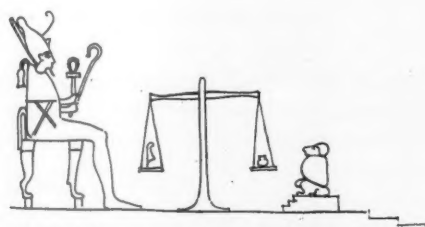
18. Conventional tomb scene from Thebes, showing the weighing of objects.



20. Ostrakon with a humorous weighing scene, parodying a scene such as that shown in Figure 19.



17. Wolves dancing to a tune played by goats—an ostrakon preserves this lively satirical scene.



19. Weighing scene from the *Book of the Gates*. The heart of the deceased is balanced against a feather, symbol of the goddess of truth.

Egyptian Art continued

ample, in a fluid rendering of an acrobatic dancer (Figure 12). Nothing could be less static or less conventional.

The sketches of animals are especially informative (Figure 13) because in so many cases the animals are shown in positions of rapid motion. In such examples the portrayals are much superior to those in the tomb paintings, where each animal is so related to a group composition that it is forced into a rather rigid and static pose. In some cases the artist's sympathy with his subject completely escapes conventional bounds; such a case is the flying duck (Figure 14) rendered with decisive strokes in an expressionistic manner.

In addition to these types of ostraca there is still another group bearing scenes which never occur on the walls of temples or tombs. Included in this group are a few drawings on papyrus which are almost identical in scale with those on the ostraca and reflect the same rapid kind of drawing. The first in this series represents a young girl on horseback (Figure 15). Horses do not appear in Egyptian art before the XVIth Dynasty, and after that date they are shown only as drawing chariots or in groups under the care of herdsmen. Were it not for such sketches there would be no way of telling whether Egyptians actually rode horseback. It should be noted that the horse is drawn in close accordance with its true form, whereas in formal scenes in temples and tombs it always has a greatly elongated neck and an unstructural looking swayback.

In another group of scenes we enter a world of unreality in which the animal kingdom is engaged in human activities. Scenes of this type are as interesting as they are rare. What of this pair of animals acting as butchers (Figure 16)? The arrangement of the scene, the objects shown and the position of each animal coincide with scenes frequently represented in tombs. Aside from the obvious incongruity, there is

an added touch of humor in the very idea of animals being as highly organized in their quest for food as is man. It would have been even better had the leg shown been a human one—and the artist would have been quite capable of such a touch had he thought of it. A sketch of dancing animals (Figure 17) is characterized by charming liveliness and grace. Here again there is a satirical overtone in the fact that the goats which conduct the dance are the natural prey of the wolves, the dancers.

It is interesting to speculate on how this idea of transferring typical human actions to animals might have arisen. Someone has suggested that it began in the representation of the animal fables which were always so popular in the ancient world, such as Aesop's fables. The objection is that there is no concrete evidence for such an idea; in all the vast treasury of Egyptian literature there is only a single fragment dealing with the adventures of a lion and a mouse which may reflect such a fable. More definite prototypes can be established from representations of Egyptian religious ideas. We all know of the persistent survival of primitive concepts of gods and supernatural forces, as well as the portrayal of gods in human or animal form. At an early date religious ideas were expressed in pictorial form in the *Book of the Dead*, the *Book of That Which is in Tuat*, and the *Book of the Gates*, all of these dealing with life in the afterworld or underworld. Here the gods, in human or animal guise, appear in scenes reminiscent of daily life as depicted in the tombs. Curiously enough, these scenes are augmented by the presence of animals performing human actions whose possible symbolic significance is not apparent. For example, a common scene from the tombs is that of weighing the products of the fields or the precious metals used in fine craftsmanship (Figure 18). The participants are the owner of the tomb, the official checker and his assistant. In the *Book of the Gates* a similar scene is shown (Figure 19) with Osiris as overseer and an ape as the checker. The religious significance of the scene consists in the weighing of the heart or the soul

21. Scene from a papyrus fragment which shows animals engaging in various human activities.





22. Drawing from a papyrus (in Turin) showing humorous scenes of various animals in human guise.

Egyptian Art continued

of the deceased against a feather, the symbol of Mat, the goddess of truth. All this seems comparatively straightforward, but what happens when the same scene appears on an ostrakon (Figure 20)? The animals here, which are too bulky to fit into the scale pans, have been placed on the ends of the beam itself. Below are an owl and a lion playing the roles of judge and jury. Certainly our sympathies are with the raven which, as the heart of the deceased, must try to outweigh the feather in the guise of a hippopotamus. It may not be justifiable to see satire directed against religion in this sketch, but the fact that it is intended to be humorous is clear enough.

EVIDENCE OF FREEDOM in execution and in type of subject matter can be used to round out and clarify our understanding of the mental processes of the ancient Egyptians. The countless texts with historical, re-



23. Ostrakon with scene entitled "The cat, the mouse and the boy." Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

ligious and fictional material and the thousands of illustrations in temples and tombs are so stereotyped that it is difficult to pierce the façade in order to find out the natures and the thoughts of the individuals who produced them. But a few examples of unconventional drawing can clarify a phase or aspect of Egyptian culture. In a papyrus fragment (Figure 21) our friends the animals are engaged in laughable incongruities. The timid gazelle opposes the lion at draughts; goats and geese, the natural victims of the cat and the wolf, are placed in their charge. On another papyrus (Figure 22) the same brand of humor is found, except that it has gone one step farther. In this scene the nominal inferiors are not merely on equal terms with their former superiors but are actually in the ascendancy. Thus the lowly ass becomes the king of beasts, the mice attack the besieged cats and overcome them, and the geese attack their predatory herdsman. One is tempted to find in this scene social satire expressed in the only way in which such an idea could have been stated. If it seems reading too much into an innocent scene, one might look at still another ostrakon (Figure 23). Is this just an innocent joke which might be entitled "Mouse has Man beaten"? Perhaps not. On the reverse its title is written in hieratic: "The cat, the mouse and the boy." And the boy is not just any boy. His long curled lock of hair is a symbol which always denotes a young prince—a son of the reigning pharaoh.

Any fresh appraisal of Egyptian art should take into account exceptions to Egyptian convention and should clarify their broader significance. The stores of ostraca, too frequently neglected in the depths of museums, offer in themselves an unexplored and unexploited field for such an appraisal.

Prehispanic Paintings at Pottery Mound

By Frank C. Hibben

THE SITE KNOWN AS POTTERY MOUND lies some forty miles southwest of Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the valley of the Puerco River, a major tributary of the Rio Grande on the west. Geographically, the Puerco Valley belongs to the Rio Grande province, and in major aspects Pottery Mound was a Rio Grande, or Eastern, Pueblo.

Excavations were begun here in 1954 under the auspices of the University of New Mexico Summer Field School, and have been continuing ever since. The investigations at Pottery Mound have revealed a

number of features which are not typical of Rio Grande sites and are unexpected in the area. The most important discovery was a series of prehispanic paintings decorating the walls of eight subterranean ceremonial structures known as *kivas*.

Pottery Mound is a typical complex of Puebloan affiliations, built of adobe. While chronological and cultural studies are still going on, the major facts are already clear. The site can be assigned to the Pueblo IV period, and it shows architectural and ceramic connections with the Rio Grande pueblos. Ceramic

Pottery Mound continued

studies currently being pursued by Charles Voll of the National Park Service indicate that there were very strong connections with the western pueblos, especially with the Zuni area of western New Mexico and eastern Arizona and the Hopi area in northern Arizona. Other material from the site strongly bears out these western connections. The ceramics indicate that the major life of the Pottery Mound site fell between A.D. 1300 and 1450. During this century and a half of development three or possibly four multi-roomed structures were built. Some of these overlay others in a historical sequence which has yet to be fully determined. Although there is some Black-on-White pottery belonging to Pueblo III, no structure of this earlier period has been found. However, small Pueblo III sites are common in the Puerco area. No

evidence was found to suggest that Pottery Mound was inhabited as late as the sixteenth century, when the Spanish invaders appeared in the Rio Grande area. The kiva paintings antedate the Spanish period, and the earlier ones probably date more than two centuries before Spanish contacts with the pueblos.

Architecturally, Pottery Mound consists of large tiers of adobe-walled rooms surrounding plazas, in the plan usual at Pueblo IV sites. Including several additions, the structures cover approximately seven acres. In several sections the building was three or possibly four stories high.

Rio Grande pueblos, in common with other developed pueblo structures, usually feature a number of subterranean ceremonial rooms, or kivas. In Pueblo IV times the kivas were usually rectangular. There are two major types—the smaller, or Medicine Society kivas, which are fifteen to twenty feet square, and the larger, or Moiety kivas, approximately twice



General view of the excavations at Pottery Mound, showing rooms and Kiva 6 (under the tarpaulin in the center background).



Members of the staff working on Kiva 1. Note the flagged floor and the ventilating shaft in the back wall. The artist in the foreground is copying a painting on the first layer, which can be seen on the back wall at the left.

these dimensions. During the 1960 field season at Pottery Mound seven Medicine Society kivas have been discovered, and one Moiety kiva. All eight of these have paintings on the walls.

The Pottery Mound murals are done in *fresco secco* on thin layers (less than $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick) of finely prepared adobe plaster. When a new painting was added, an additional layer of adobe plaster was placed over the face of the preceding painting and a new one painted on the surface. Water was used as a medium, and also animal grease. For the most part, the pigments are mineral in origin. Already identified among the mineral pigments are oxides of iron, copper salts of several varieties, oxide of uranium, carbon and gypsum. Some vegetable pigments were also used but these are fugitive and have largely disappeared, leaving only the outlines of the areas originally colored. The palette of colors used by the Pottery Mound artists was exceptionally large and varied.

Eight shades of red are distinguishable. Three shades of yellow, two of green, and two of blue are usual in the series. The artists often used a very good purple, a maroon and a flaming orange. Many painted areas are outlined in black. Brushwork is exceedingly fine, as in the depiction of certain feathers, but its quality varies. Obviously a number of artists, differing in ability, executed the paintings over a long period of time. Shading was usual, and some colors were superimposed to produce variations of effect.

Although a large number of kivas and pueblo rooms of the Pueblo III and IV periods have been excavated in the American Southwest, only two previous excavations have revealed any number of paintings. The first of these was at the site of Kuaua, some eighteen miles north of Albuquerque in the Rio Grande Valley. Here a single painted kiva was discovered. On its walls were several layers of painted adobe plaster. These mural paintings are shortly to



Students working on a section of the murals of the south wall of Kiva 6 which have been jacketed in plaster and removed.

Pottery Mound continued

be published (Bertha P. Dutton, *Sun Fathers Way*, University of New Mexico Press).

The second major group of paintings was found at the pueblo of Awatovi in the Hopi area (Watson Smith, *Kiva Mural Decorations at Awatovi and Kawaikoa*. *Peabody Papers* 37 [Cambridge 1952]). These were on the kiva walls and also, in some instances, upon the walls of rooms above ground. It is remarkable that few prehispanic paintings other than these have been recovered.

SOMETHING OVER TWO HUNDRED PAINTINGS or groups of paintings have now been found at Pottery Mound. This series represents by far the largest collection of prehispanic paintings from the American Southwest. From them we not only derive information as to the ceremonial life of the inhabitants but also gain some insight into their artistic ability.

The removal of the paintings from the walls has entailed the development of a number of techniques. The walls of the kiva structures themselves vary from solid adobe to a wattle type of construction, with the wall supported by upright posts plastered on both sides. As these posts have now rotted out, the walls are very insecure and present great difficulties in preserving the paintings on their surface.

During the seasons of 1958 and 1959 the removal of the murals was aided by a series of grants from the Research Committee of the University of New Mexico. During the 1960 season the removal of the paintings of the last three kivas was made possible by a generous grant from the National Science Foundation. With the assistance of both these grants the technical processes for the removal of the paintings were greatly improved over those of earlier seasons.

When the Kuaua murals were removed by technicians from the School of American Research and the University of New Mexico, a technique was worked



In the laboratory a student pieces together fresco fragments from Kiva 1.

out by which the individual layers of adobe plaster with the paintings on their surface could be stripped from the wall and remounted on wall board for study and display. This method, although commendable in its final results, proved extremely slow and costly. Furthermore, as the paintings lost moisture, they became quite dull, and some faded almost entirely.

In the Pottery Mound work a few segments of a wall containing a series of paintings were removed entire to be used for exhibit purposes. Fragments of fallen wall were jacketed in plaster and removed to the laboratory for further work. The standing walls were processed in place. The kivas were covered with a large tent to keep out weather and sun and to preserve the moisture. In each case the major problem proved to be the drying out of the wall plaster. To prevent loss of moisture, walls and broken areas were capped with plaster. As each layer of paintings was revealed, it was carefully photographed with several kinds of film to attain the maximum accuracy of

color. Paintings were copied by two artists working independently. A grid system of measurement was used to gain maximum accuracy of measurement and proportion. After each painting was photographed and copied it was scraped from the wall to reveal the painting beneath. In the eight kivas the number of painted layers varied from three in the large Moiety kiva (Kiva 5) to thirty-two in the Medicine Society kiva (Kiva 7). In many cases, needless to say, the removal of the paintings was complicated by earth fractures, intrusions of roots and the collapse of the kiva walls.

One of the most interesting features we observed

A WIDELY TRAVELED SCHOLAR of many interests, Professor Hibben is a graduate of Princeton (A.B. 1933), the University of New Mexico (A.M. 1934) and Harvard (Ph.D. 1940). He has worked in Mexico, Canada and Alaska as well as in the American Southwest and has published numerous books and articles. He is now Professor of Anthropology at the University of New Mexico.



Restored copy of fresco from Kiva 2. Color plates courtesy of the Research Committee, University of New Mexico.

Pottery Mound continued

was the intentional destruction of some paintings subsequent to the abandonment of Pottery Mound sometime around the end of the fifteenth century. In Kiva 1, for example, the north wall, which contained on its first, or outermost, layer a creation scene, had been purposely undercut at its base and pushed forward so as to destroy the entire wall. The fragments of this wall were jacketed and taken to the laboratory for the removal of the paintings. In Kivas 6 and 8 the north walls had also been destroyed, probably on purpose. In Kivas 7 and 8 some human figures had been slashed so as to disfigure the facial features. The paintings also showed various degrees of ancient wear and destruction. In many places segments of plaster had fallen from the wall, carrying the paintings with them. These broken areas had been re-plastered with plain adobe on which new paintings were executed. All but one of the kivas have tunnels leading through their walls to other kivas or rooms. These tunnels had

in most cases been cut through earlier layers of paintings. In two of the kivas, alterations or additions to floors and benches covered earlier series of paintings. The lower parts of the murals were worn away in places where members of the kiva had sat resting against the walls.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE at this stage to describe all the paintings of the Pottery Mound series, as still more are being removed from the site at the present time. They present a large number of human, animal, vegetable and abstract forms with great variation. In general, the paintings are more sophisticated than those at Kuaua and Awatovi. The Pottery Mound murals show stronger affinities with the paintings at Awatovi both in artistic treatment and in subject matter. However, they exhibit greater variation in style and color than the Awatovi paintings, and present a much wider variety of subjects.

The accompanying illustrations are typical of the Pottery Mound murals as a whole, although all three



Detail of wall painting from Kiva 2, showing the actual condition of the fresco.

are from Kiva 2. That on the cover is from the west wall and was painted on the first layer. The rectangular opening in the middle of the painting is a tunnel which leads into a block of rooms and possibly another kiva as yet unexcavated. The figures on either side of the tunnel opening depict a male figure to the right and a female figure to the left. The woman's figure has the typical dress extending over one shoulder and the headdress with the hair gathered in back. Both the man and the woman wear bead necklaces, which are typical of most of the figures from the Pottery Mound series. Behind the woman is a crane, probably a male whooping crane with the throat sac distended. Behind the man is a bird, possibly a quetzal or a parrot. Bird figures are very common in the Pottery Mound paintings and show great variation. Many of the birds are parrots and a number of others are tropical birds, but the species are difficult to determine. The man's headdress consists of a rainbow cap from which emanate plant stalks colored in gleaming white selenite. Above the figures

is a stylized cloud pattern. Such representations of clouds occur several times in the Pottery Mound series. Above the woman and the whooping crane are festoons of shell and coral beads, apparently hanging from a rack. From the same rack also hang a number of folded textiles showing various designs. These probably represent dance costumes, which were hung from the ceiling of the kiva until needed for special ceremonies. The textile patterns on the kilts of the various figures in the paintings show that these people had a rich variety of textile weaves and decorative motives.

Below the tunnel entrance (in the same painting) is a basket piled with loops of shell and coral beads. In spite of the fact that strings of shell and coral beads are frequently depicted in these paintings and are found in other excavations, only a very few shell beads were recovered in the excavation of Pottery Mound, and no coral whatsoever.

Of especial interest is the graffito which appears just at the left of the tunnel entrance. Graffiti were

Pottery Mound continued

superimposed on the paintings in several places, possibly indicating that the kivas were abandoned for some time before their final destruction. Some of them were done in charcoal and others in black paint.

The painting which is reproduced on page 272 is also from the first layer of Kiva 2. This painting, from the north portion of the east wall, shows a figure which has been tentatively identified as the "rainbow man" of Pueblo and Navajo mythology. Two figures are shown beneath a band of clouds. The standing figure, or rainbow man, is arched over a mass of clouds. The kilt design and the tassels on his belt are typical for the Pottery Mound series. The attenuated body of the rainbow man and the general coloring are reminiscent of Navajo sand paintings of similar subjects. The headdress of the rainbow figure is different from others at Pottery Mound. It shows a large flower disk with green leaves beneath. The green color was apparently vegetable and has faded almost entirely. The wand which the man holds in an eagle's claw is a stylized tropical bird. This stylization is reminiscent of Hopi design. The seated figure is remarkably plain compared to other Pottery Mound figures, and the lack of any design on the kilt is unusual. The profiles of both figures are typical of the paintings at Pottery Mound.

The picture on page 273 shows the actual condition of the paintings as they were uncovered, and is also typical of a large number of general designs. This figure is from the central portion of the west wall

of Kiva 2, on the eighth layer from the surface. A similar figure occurred in the center of the south and north walls of the eighth layer, and probably a fourth such figure was originally on the east wall, but this one was not recovered. Layer 8 was marked off on all four walls of the kiva by an undulating framing line of rectangular maeanders. This arrangement was common on several layers of other kivas of the group. Parrots or human figures are often perched on corners of the maeanders. In this illustration the central figure represents a highly conventionalized human with tasseled sash and kilt. In each hand is a staff with appended feather ruffs. The body of the figure shows a design which is probably a conventionalization of human viscera and intestines. These figures have been identified by an Indian informant from Acoma as "Direction Men." An informant from Laguna said that the figure represented "World Man." Whatever the identification, highly conventionalized or distorted figures are typical of the Pottery Mound paintings. Several representations occur in which human extremities are attached to a circular body. Other human figures have combinations of animal or bird attributes. Naturalistic representations of humans, especially dancing figures, are also common.

It is hoped that a thorough study of the Pottery Mound paintings, after the whole series is recovered from the site, will furnish much information about the rich ceremonial life of the inhabitants. Certainly the paintings themselves show a high degree of artistic attainment and skill in layout and coloring which is remarkable for the time and place.

Highlights of the
SPRING
issue of

ARCHAEOLOGY

FROM THE HEIGHTS OF SARDIS

by George M. A. Hanfmann and A. H. Detweiler

ARCHAEOLOGY IN BORNEO

by Wilhelm G. Solheim, II

A PRIVATE HOUSE DISCOVERED AT MYCENAE

by Nicholas M. Verdels

FRANKFURT-HEDDERNHEIM: A ROMAN FRONTIER TOWN

by Ulrich Fischer

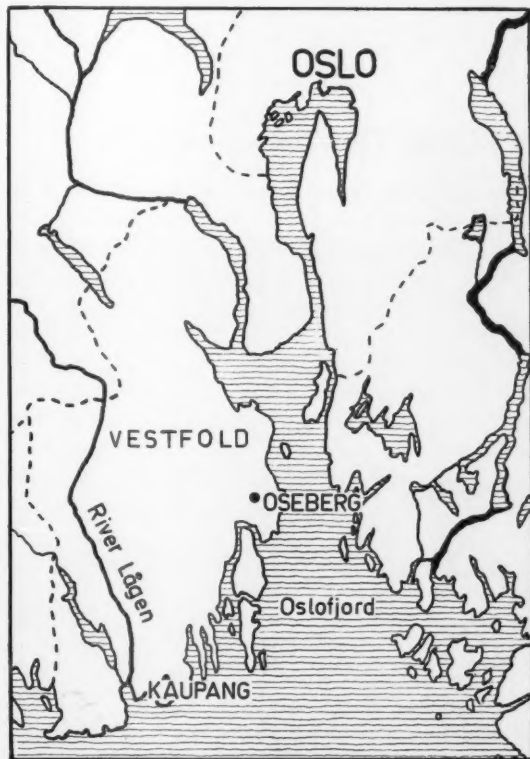
NEW LIGHT ON VIKING TRADE IN NORWAY

By Charlotte Blindheim

DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS extensive excavation has been carried on at the Kaupang farms, near Larvik in the county of Vestfold, not very far from the place where the royal Viking burial of Oseberg was discovered (see *ARCHAEOLOGY* 11 [1958] 190-199). This was not the first excavation to be undertaken in this area near the mouth of the Oslo fjord: in 1867 a number of burial mounds was excavated. Part of the interest in excavating them at that time undoubtedly stemmed from the theory of the pioneer Norwegian historian, P. A. Munch, that there was some connection between the cemetery at Kaupang and Skiringssal, a port of the Viking period mentioned by the ninth-century Norwegian traveler, Ottar. The statement of Ottar, who had traveled north as far as the White Sea, and south to Hedeby (an important market town of the Viking Age in southern Schleswig), is incorporated in King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of the history of Orosius, which includes whatever contemporary material Alfred could obtain about the countries and peoples of North and Central Europe. The suggestion that a port or market town might be found on the Kaupang farms was supported partly by the place-name itself, which indicates a market place—compare "Kaupang" with the English "Chipping"—and partly by the large number of barrows concentrated on these farms. But when most of these barrows were excavated, in 1867, comparatively poor material was unearthed, reflecting a population which must have consisted of farmers rather than tradesmen. Further excavations on the spot were therefore given up, in spite of the evidence of the place-name and the historical records.

In 1947 new finds were accidentally discovered by the owner of the land in a different area. Rather rich material, obviously from boat-graves, pointed to burials somewhat different from the graves unearthed in 1867. Excavations at this new site were started in 1950 and have been going on since then.

Until 1956 the digging was concentrated in the boat-grave cemetery, which has yielded abundant material, partly native in origin, partly consisting of imported articles such as Anglo-Irish bronze ornaments, a hanging bowl with a runic inscription, tiny fragments of glass beakers of Frankish origin and bits of imported pottery. The shield boss shown is of a type unknown in Scandinavia. My hope is that readers of *ARCHAEOLOGY* may help us with parallels.



MAP OF THE OSLO FJORD AREA, SHOWING THE COUNTY OF VESTFOLD AND THE SITE OF KAUPANG

BOAT-GRAVES**SVART-JORD****BARROWS****BARROWS**

The Kaupang site, with the various excavation areas indicated.

VIKING TRADE continued

Of the boats themselves nothing was left except the rivets. Whenever these were found in position, careful excavation enabled us to uncover an impression of the boat in the ground. In a few cases faint traces of the timber and details such as the ribs and keel could be discerned. All the boats uncovered in this way belong to a small type with a total length of about twenty-five feet. At least two of the boats contained more than one burial. Investigation showed that these could not have taken place at the same time. All the graves were covered with several layers of large and small stones, some of which were visible in the turf here and there.

The grave goods indicate that this burial ground belongs to the same period as the material unearthed in 1867, that is, not before A.D. 800 and not after 950.

In assessing our material from the point of view of its relation to an actual market town, we think it is justifiable to say that it has strengthened the belief that considerable commercial activity was carried on here. Imported articles such as pottery and glass sug-

gest trade rather than plunder. Moreover, in both excavations vessels of soapstone are rather common. This material cannot have been obtained on the spot, as soapstone is not native to the district. A reasonable explanation has been provided by Dr. Jan Petersen, who believes that these vessels were produced almost on a "factory basis" in districts where there were good soapstone quarries, and then sent from there to Kaupang for export. In the Viking town of Hedeby large quantities of soapstone cauldrons have been found, and these probably came from Kaupang. According to Ottar, as recounted by King Alfred, the route from Kaupang to Hedeby was well established in the ninth century.

More convincing evidence that we were on the right track was gathered when excavations were started in a field where common sense told us the actual market place ought to be situated, that is, the only place where there were no traces of burials. In this field the blackish earth had a greasy consistency, just like the Svart-jord (black earth) which has been noted at several early market sites such as Birka in Mälaren (Sweden) and others.

Some three hundred square meters of this field have



Excavating a boat-grave at Kaupang. Note how close the site is to the fjord.



Left: A shield boss of unknown type from one of the Kaupang graves. Above: Granite and oak anchor found at Kaupang, shown *in situ*.



Left: Bronze ornaments of local origin from the Kaupang boat-graves. *Right:* Anglo-Irish bronze ornaments found in the boat graves.



VIKING TRADE continued

been excavated up to now. A well constructed jetty built of small stones has come to light, as well as foundations for houses of various kinds. Among the abundant material from this part of our excavations should be noted a heavy anchor made of granite and oak, weighing some eighty kilograms, masses of animal and fish bones, giving evidence of a farming economy and of local fishing, slag and refuse from the local iron production and last, but not least, a considerable number of fragments of imported glass and pottery, which were scattered all through our trial trenches. Types belonging to the ninth century are markedly in the majority. An examination by the radiocarbon method of some wooden poles found outside the jetty gave the date A.D. 840 \pm 90.

We think that sufficient evidence has now come to light for us to say that the name Kaupang is clearly derived from actual conditions prevailing during the Viking era in the district around the site. In view of the fact that our investigations are not completed, it is too early to attempt a definite assessment of the scope of the trade which passed through here. But it is quite clear that North Sea contacts must have been important for our market place. It is significant that of the two coins which have thus far been found one

is Frankish (Louis the Pious), the other Anglo-Saxon (Coenwulf of Mercia).

One of the many problems with which we are faced is whether the actual idea of organized markets such as this one came from Western Europe or whether they should be seen as local phenomena—in other words, whether the decline of this market place and others of the same type (which we know must have existed at least along the coast) was due to impulses connected with the whole Viking raid movement. If we can succeed in solving this problem satisfactorily, the solution may also throw light on the history of the earliest towns of our country.

Thus far the fate of our kaupang lies in darkness. The finds in the Svart-jord suggest that the fall came suddenly—it seems as though the houses were abandoned at some time in the first part of the tenth century, for a reason unknown to us. Thus far no strong evidence of a fire has been found. Curiously enough, no tradition about this market place has been handed down in the district apart from the place-name itself. Yet it must have been the center of commercial, religious and political contacts for over a century.

DR. BLINDHEIM is Curator of the Viking Department of Oslo University's Museum of Antiquities. She has been directing excavations at Kaupang since 1950, and this year conducted still another season's work at the site.

THE XXVTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS of Orientalists was held at Moscow University, August 9-16, 1960. There were more than 1500 participants, and 766 papers were listed in the program. These were arranged in twenty sections on the basis of language, history, and geography. The papers of archaeological interest, in the sections on Assyriology, Hittitology and Uratology, and Semitology were all

done. Instead, head and body are built up with clay over a reed armature, and the head is now a disk. In the final stage a featureless, spade-shaped head is placed on a bust. The whole development thus proceeds from the basic skull through various stages of sculptural invention to the purely abstract representation of head and shoulders.

Ruth Amiran of the Hazor Expedition of the Hebrew University,

terrelations with Aramean culture, conditioned by the growing Assyrian pressure west and southward. These suggestions are supported by archaeological evidence, mainly pottery, from various North Syrian sites, for example the sites in the Amuq plain, Hama, or Tell Halaf, where the pottery of the Kapara palace has many relations with the Iron III pottery of Megiddo and Hazor.

ORIENTALISTS MEET IN MOSCOW

By Edith Porada *Associate Professor of Archaeology, Columbia University*

scheduled in the building of the Physical Faculty and were carefully planned to avoid overlapping so that they could be easily attended.

A. D. Tushingham of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, discussed the pre-pottery Neolithic sculpture of Jericho. He noted that a skull cult was evident in both Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (8th-7th millennium) and B (7th-6th millennium). In both cases the human skull has been given special treatment. The first sculptural stage, however, is represented by the plastered skulls of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, which evidently are intended as portraits. Nose, ears and mouth are modeled, eyes are inlaid shells, paint is used for skin tone and for mustache, eyebrows, etc. Some may have been furnished with wigs. In the following stage the skull base is aban-

Jerusalem, suggested an extension to Phoenicia and Syria of Aharoni's and her chronological subdivisions of the Iron Age in Palestine. The first sub-period (I), ca. 1200-1000 B.C., was the time of the Judges and the wars with the Philistines. It is characterized by Philistine pottery and by the development of Israelite pottery. The second sub-period (II), ca. 1000-850, the time of David, Solomon and Ahab, is characterized by new architectural features designated as Phoenician, such as well dressed ashlar stones with margins and the proto-Ionic capital. This period saw the peak of Bichrome ware (which had begun in the eleventh century) and the beginning of the Red Slip ware. The third sub-period (III), ca. 850-720/586, the time of the Divided Monarchies, is characterized by in-

T. G. Bibby reported on the results of the expedition of the Aarhus Museum (Denmark) which carried out reconnaissance and excavations along the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf and the islands off that coast. Among the Stone Age sites examined, Middle Palaeolithic sites predominate but later Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites have also been located. An otherwise unknown culture using slate implements was discovered north of Kuwait Bay. The most important excavations, however, are those of the two Bronze Age and later sites on Bahrein, the temple called after the nearby village of Barbar, and Ras al-Qala'a, a tell which covers an extensive city. The stone-built temple, standing on a stone terrace, was twice demolished and rebuilt on a larger scale but shows an al-



Painted plaster bust, side and front views, from Jericho. End of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B. Photographs courtesy of the Jericho Excavation Fund.

Orientalists continued

most uniform pottery style throughout all three phases. Equally continuous are the stamp seals in which (at Ras al-Qala'a) an earlier and a later type can be distinguished. Some indication for the absolute dating of the Barbar and Ras al-Qala'a levels can be derived from the seal designs, the earliest of which resemble Indus types and are probably datable to the end of the third millennium B.C., while the later ones seem to me to have some motifs reminiscent of Old Babylonian and Mitannian designs of the second millennium. Many seals like those of the Barbar temple and of Ras al-Qala'a were also found at a Bronze Age site on the island of Falaika at the entrance to Kuwait Bay. On the same island, identified with the Ikaros mentioned by Arrian and Pliny, was discovered a Hellenistic fortress and a house of the time of Alexander the Great.

There are about 100,000 grave mounds on Bahrein, of which the

majority belong to Barbar and pre-Barbar periods. Each includes one or more stone-built and slab-roofed chambers having two small alcoves at the eastern end and containing a single contracted burial.

Burial mounds at Abu Dhabi on the west coast of the Oman peninsula deserve mention because they are of an unusual kind. They are actually circular buildings with vertical outer walls, probably originally about a man's height and varying between eight and twenty-five feet in diameter. The roofs, presumed to be flat, were supported on intricate systems of interior walling. Access to the interior was by two portholes, in some cases closed by stone slabs; the spaces between the interior walls were flagged, and on these floors lay the bones of as many as thirty-five individuals buried at different times. In addition, there were thousands of beads, various copper implements and a large quantity of painted pottery which shows startling affinity with the Kulli pottery of Pakistan,

which Piggott considers as preceding that of the Indus civilization.

Nimet Özgüç reported on the excavations at Kültepe, near Kayseri in eastern Anatolia, where for many years she and her husband, Tahsin Özgüç, have carried on the excavation of an important Assyrian trading center, or *karum*, of the early second millennium B.C. and of the structures on the city mound where the palace of the local prince seems to have been located. The main objective of their recent work at Kültepe was the correlation of the levels in the *karum* with those of the mound. In the *karum*, Level IV was the earliest settlement, probably of the third millennium B.C., whereas on the mound a prehistoric level containing the well known Kültepe idols appears beneath the remains of Level IV. In Level IV appear the first examples of fine Hittite ware as well as Alishar III pottery and pottery showing the beginnings of relations with Syria. The monochrome vessels were made on a fast wheel and



covered with a burnished bright red or brown slip. The shapes are limited in comparison to those of Level III and especially of Level II, the richest of the karum levels. Level III of the karum, partly destroyed by a conflagration, was of no particular importance. Neither in Level II nor in Level Ib of the karum were any monumental structures found, and it seems likely that such structures existed only in the main city. The pottery of Level Ib of the karum was described in some detail by Mrs. Özgüç. Some of the Level II shapes still exist but are slightly changed; new shapes appear and are in the majority. The painted wares and shapes of II have disappeared; there is an increase of North Syrian imports. Zoomorphic vessels have changed in shape and style, which has become naturalistic, whereas in Level II the style was schematic and stylized. The lead figurines and molds definitely belong to this later level.

In terms of absolute chronology, Level Ib began in the tenth year of

King Shamshi 'Adad I of Assyria, ca. 1800, and did not last more than forty or fifty years, covering the reign of Hammurabi of Babylon and probably the first few years of his son's. Level II is to be dated ca. 1930-1850 B.C., so that a time lag of about two generations must be assumed between these two levels.

It will be interesting to see whether the traders of Level IV at Kültepe of the late third millennium B.C. were in some way connected with the contacts between Asia Minor and Mesopotamia in the Akkad period, ca. 2340-2180, pointed out by Machteld Mellink of Bryn Mawr. Miss Mellink discussed the booty depicted on a fragmentary Akkadian stele found several years ago at Nasiriya in Iraq (published by J. Masmachi in *Sumer* X [1954]). Both a dagger and a two-handled cup have close parallels in objects of the Troy II period of Asia Minor. Previously, the stele was thought to depict a victory over peoples of the north-eastern hills of Iraq or of western

Above: Buildings of Level II in the karum area of Kültepe, Turkey. Below: A clay pitcher found in this level. Photographs courtesy of N. Özgüç.





Grave mound on Bahrein. Part of mound is removed, showing burial chamber. Photos courtesy T. G. Bibby.

Orientalists continued

Iran. Akkadian influences in Iran, however, were implied by G. G. Cameron of the University of Michigan, who considers one of the rock reliefs of Sari-i-Pul-i-Zohab to have been carved in the Akkad period. Prolonged discussion after Cameron's paper indicated the necessity of further study of this problem. The intricate interweaving of cultural exchange and artistic influences between Western Asia, Egypt and Greece as demonstrated in plant ornaments was discussed by Helene Kantor of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

The paper by Marija Gimbutas of the Peabody Museum, Harvard, on the Bronze Age chronology of the Caucasus was the first in a series dealing with material of particular relevance to the archaeological finds in the USSR. She suggested new groupings of the finds from the Caucasus based on correlations with objects from Central Europe and the Aegean.

The paper on the Bronze Age

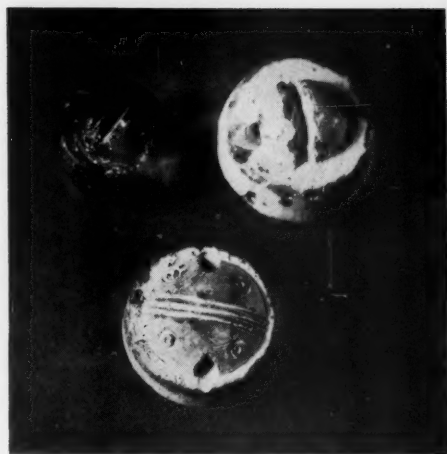
culture of the Lake Sevan coast in Armenia presented for discussion by A. O. Mnatsakanian was printed, like all communications of the Soviet delegation, and the following summary is based on this printed report on the excavation of seventy burials at Lchashen, dated between the twentieth and the twelfth century B.C. The oldest are burial mounds of the 20th-17th centuries. Each consisted of a rectangular burial pit, sometimes covered with a roof of logs under a stone mound. Each tomb contained a contracted skeleton lying on the left side, with bones of sheep and goats at the sides, and at the feet black burnished vessels with dotted semicircular and zigzag decoration. In burial mounds of the same group but of slightly later date were also found red painted vessels, a bronze spearhead, two daggers and flint arrowheads.

The burial mounds of the second group belong to the mid-second millennium B.C. and on the basis of the pottery can be assigned to the same period as the finds in the Tri-

aleti district. As at Trialeti and Kirovakan, no human skeletons were found in these stone mounds, the largest of which were twenty-eight meters in diameter and contained grave pits of about twenty-three square meters with a depth up to three meters, and were covered with log roofs. Bones and whole skeletons of animals were common in these mounds. Remnants of a bull's skin with head and legs were often found near the east wall.

The burial mounds of the third group contained a hitherto unknown black burnished pottery decorated by pressed-in designs filled with red and white paint. One of the graves contained fragments of a wooden vehicle and fourteen pigs' skulls. In the same grave was found a small shaft-hole axe resembling the weapon carried by the Hittite god on the royal gate at Boğazköy.

The fourth group of tombs, and the richest, has been ascribed to tribal chiefs of the 13th-12th centuries B.C. The burial chamber, beneath the stone mound (8 x 2 meters), was made of huge stone



Above: Stamp seals from Ras al-Qala'a. Top row: early examples with high boss and single groove; beneath, later type with low boss, three grooves and four circles. *Right:* Enlarged impression of seal from Failaka, later type (18th-15th century B.C.).



blocks and was covered with large stone slabs forming a false vault. Inside were found fragments of a ceiling supported on poles. Typical of these burial mounds are wooden carts: in one were two four-wheeled carts and two with two wheels. The wood (oak, elm and mahogany, all local) was richly carved with geometric and representational designs. Small bronze chariot groups, perhaps originally attached to the pole of the cart, were found in the tombs. Other decorations on the carts were bronze figures of bulls, one flanked by two goats. One piece found in these tombs is a bronze deer with antlers, its body perforated by slits. Such slits are also characteristic of the bird figures and even occur on some of the weapons. On the handles of daggers the slits were inlaid with mahogany. Other weapons include axes of various types, long swords, tridents, spearheads, maces and arrowheads of bronze, flint and obsidian. Of importance for dating is a horse-bit with cheek-pieces in the form of wheels. The burials

contained other small objects of bronze and precious metal, bronze mirrors, silver bowls, a gold frog and a lion's head covered with sheet gold. The fine pottery seems to be related to that of the third group. Crude household pottery was also found. The date of the Lchashen burials was established on the basis of comparison with objects from Ras Shamra, Mari and Assur.

The descendants of these people of Lchashen were gravely menaced in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. by the Urartians, as pointed out by B. B. Piotrovsky, who directs the excavations at Arinberd and Karmir Blur, the sites of two Urartian fortresses of the 8th-6th centuries on the outskirts of Yerevan. Since the last report on these excavations by Professor Piotrovsky at the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists in 1957, the importance of Urartu for Western Asiatic history and art has become even more obvious, thanks to the excavations at Hasanlu in northwestern Iran, where the Gray Ware period was most probably

terminated by the Urartian destruction of the citadel (see *ARCHAEOLOGY* 13 [1960] 118-129) and where the influence of Urartian art in the subsequent centuries is only gradually being recognized.

In the course of excavation at Arinberd (ancient Erebuni) in 1958-59, conducted by the architect K. Ohanesian, the entire citadel wall with its buttresses and gate was uncovered. Near the entrance there was an inscription of King Argishti I (781-760 B.C.) describing the building of Erebuni; the text of this inscription had been known earlier from the annals of Argishti I at Khorkhov. The entrance led to the inner court of the fortress, where there was a temple whose façade had two rows of six columns each. The long hall of the temple was once richly painted with rosettes, palmettes, sacred trees flanked by genii, and animals. The most interesting of the paintings is a representation of the god Haldi standing on a lion. The northern part of the court was formed by the wall of the palace,

Orientalists continued

which was built by King Argishti, as two short inscriptions in the entrance indicate. The entrance led into a peristyle, in the western part of which stood a temple called Susi, as stated in an inscription at the entrance. A room opposite the temple led into a large hall whose walls were painted with sacred trees, kneeling bulls, winged genii, disks and squares with concave sides, all reminiscent of Assyrian wall paintings, especially of Ashurnasirpal's palace at Nimrud.

At Karmir Blur (ancient Teishebani), a fortress built in the seventh century by Rusa, son of Argishti, recent excavations have yielded a magnificent pole top in the form of a horse's head, a large copper cauldron, a bronze vessel with animal-shaped handles (ascribed to Scythian style, since similar objects were discovered in the Scythian tombs of the Ukraine and Transcaucasia), two boot-shaped drinking vessels, interesting cylinder seals and many more objects of importance.

In contrast to Erebuni with its isolated buildings, Teishebani was a single two-storied structure apparently without the ostentatious buildings of the earlier citadel. The rooms in the upper story probably were painted; those on the lower floor were magazines. In addition to the sesame-oil press and the brewery discovered earlier, evidence of metalworking and the manufacture of stag-horn objects was reported. Teishebani was not abandoned like Erebuni but destroyed by a Scythian attack which must have occurred after 600 B.C., since tablets from the site mention Rusa, son of Erimena, who reigned until 590.

While Teishebani remained in ruins during the Achaemenian period, there was considerable architectural activity at Erebuni. Eighteen

more columns were added to the large temple. The second, smaller, temple may have been transformed into an Achaemenian sanctuary. Results of further excavations at these sites are awaited with much interest.

Another Urartian site was excavated in Turkey by Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç, who began to work at Altın Tepe, some twenty kilometers east of Erzincan, on the road to Erzerum. As usual in Urartian sites, it was placed on a natural hill and surrounded by a wall. Chamber tombs were built into the southern slope. One of these had been discovered and destroyed in 1938, another partially robbed in 1956, but in the latter the excavators found pieces of furniture, pottery, etc. A large rectangular shaft cut into the ground had been lined with walls of large stones, almost like an underground tower. Inside this shaft were built the funerary chambers, covered with stone slabs which in turn supported a covering of rough stones and earth. One tomb is rectangular and consists of three rooms communicating with each other. The walls were built of masonry in the Urartian style and carry a vaulted roof. Another tomb, also with three chambers, is covered with flat stone slabs. In the first room were found a large cauldron containing small vessels, iron weapons, bronze statuettes of horses, carpenters' tools, horse trappings and parts of harnesses and chariots, bits and bells, iron axes, lances and arrowheads, knives and pickaxes, wood and metal parts of chairs and stools, a set of pottery vessels, and decorative objects of bone. Cuneiform inscriptions on some of the bronzes have made it possible to date the tomb: the prince buried there was a contemporary of Argishti II (713-679 or 685 B.C.).

Some Urartian objects from the collections of Lehmann-Haupt were shown by G. R. Meyer, Director of the Vorderasiatische Museum, Berlin,



whose paper gave an impressive survey of that museum, whose galleries have recently been rearranged.

The significance of the Urartian legacy for the formation of Achaemenian art was briefly stressed by Roman Ghirshman, who cited the architectural relationship between the Urartian capital at Toprakkale on Lake Van and the early Achaemenian sites at Masjid-i-Suleiman and Pasargadae. Ghirshman's major communication dealt with excavations of the Elamite sanctuary (thirteenth century B.C.) at Tchoga Zanbil, in southwest Iran. Especially interesting is the palace, which seems to have been at least partly planned in conjunction with tombs which it encloses. The cylinder seals found at Tchoga Zanbil, which solve some of the problems concerning the development of Assyrian glyptic art of the early first millennium B.C., were discussed by the writer.



Left: Pole top in form of horse's head, from Karmir Blur. Now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. *Above:* Pottery vessels in the shape of shoes, from Karmir Blur. *Right:* Detail of the bronze quiver of Argishti, son of Menua. From Karmir Blur.



In order to convey a more adequate idea of the variety of archaeological papers presented at the Congress without extending unduly the present summary, a few papers will be mentioned by title. These do not include all papers with archaeological content but only those attended by your reporter. Theresa Goell showed her magnificent photographs of the sculptures of Nimrud Dagh. M. Chehab, Director of Antiquities of Lebanon, spoke on problems raised by the new excavations at Tyre. D. Schlumberger, University of Strasbourg, discussed the excavations of Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan), and D. S. Rice those conducted at Harran (Turkey) in 1959.

Several exhibitions had been prepared in conjunction with the Congress. In the main building of the University was shown "Archaeology, History of Culture, and Ethnography of the Peoples of the Soviet Orient,"



Rock relief at Sari-i-Pul-i-Zohab, Iran. Photo G. G. Cameron.

Orientalists continued

which afforded a survey of outstanding finds from recent excavations in the USSR, instructively and attractively combined with the folk art of the respective regions. Adjoining this was an exhibit of publications concerning the Soviet Orient.

In the Institute of Ethnography were exhibited recent finds from S. P. Tolstov's expeditions in Choresm. Included were objects of the Tazabagyab steppe Bronze culture, especially from the Kocha III burial ground (second millennium B.C.), handmade pottery of the fifth century B.C. from Dingildje (curiously reminiscent of the contemporary Achaemenian pottery of Iran), and osuaries in human form and spirally decorated pottery of Koy-Krylgan-Kala.

Some objects from Karmir Blur are on permanent view at the Pushkin Museum, and the Central Asiatic material can be studied in the Historical Museum of Moscow.

Several tours were available to members of the Congress, a two-day excursion to Leningrad and excursions to Central Asia and to Transcaucasia. For archaeologists the principal place of interest in Leningrad was the Hermitage State Museum, for which a visit of at least two weeks would have been more satisfactory. The Treasury alone, containing gold objects from Maikop, from Scythian and Sarmatian tombs and other sites, merits several days' study. Of considerable interest is also the second treasury, containing objects dating from the Achaemenian period to the nineteenth century. Furthermore, there are the finds from the Altai region, especially Pazyryk, from Noin Ula, and from the excavations at Karmir Blur and other Urartian sites. There is pottery from southern Turkmenia, related to early Iranian pottery, and the stupendous wall paintings from Piandjikent which re-

veal one of the sources of mediaeval Persian painting. Mention should also be made of the collection of East Greek vases and of ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals. These are only a few of the highlights of the permanent exhibitions which were shown and explained to visitors by the ever helpful curatorial staff of the Museum.

In addition, there was a temporary exhibition entitled "New Archaeological Materials Relating to the History of the Soviet East." A booklet enabled the visitor to form an idea of (I) the early farming culture in the south of the Turkmen SSR (excavated principally by Masson), in Ferghana (Jessen's excavation) and Transcaucasia, (II) the culture of the Ferghana foothills in the beginning of our era, (III) sites of the Khazar period on the banks of the Don.

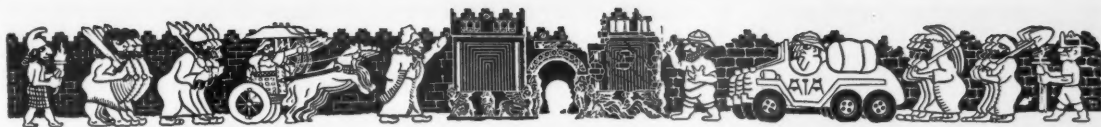
For those interested in Western Asia, the high point of the Congress was the four-day excursion to Transcaucasia. The principal objectives were the Historical Museum in Tiflis, the Urartian fortresses excavated at Yerivan and the Yerivan Historical Museum. The Museum in Tiflis contains material of the prehistoric cultures of Georgia. Some of the most interesting early pottery, from Urbnisi, is black burnished, sometimes becoming red and buff. The decoration, in relief, takes the form of schematized moufflon horns. This pottery, found in Chalcolithic and Early Bronze levels, seems to have extended from the Caucasus to Eastern Anatolia and Phoenicia-Syria, as far south as Palestine, where it is known as Khirbet Kerak Ware. These connections between Anatolia, Syria and Palestine on the one hand and the Transcaucasian area on the other, previously suggested by A. B. Kuftin and Sinclair Hood, were discussed in a lively session by Ruth Amiran, A. Djavashirli, O. Djaparidze and others.

Equally interesting are the Early Bronze Age metal objects of the western Caucasus. Long pins with double-volute and hammer heads, and long, graceful, slightly curved axes were discovered at sites such as Sacherin and Esheri. Important Middle Bronze Age types come from the recently excavated cemetery of Brili in northwest Georgia and from Kvasatali in Ossetia. The best known Late Bronze Age site is Trialeti, long famed for its silver goblet and bucket. Much information concerning the chronology of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age cultures of the area can be gained from the stratified cemetery of Zamthavro, which covered four or more levels, extending as late as Scythian and Sasanian times. Lastly, the Tiflis Museum has important silver objects of the Roman period from various sites.

The prehistoric material was newly and interestingly arranged, both from the point of view of content and of visual pleasure, and was explained to the group by excavators and curators with great knowledge and patience.

The bus trip from Tiflis to Yerivan led through those parts of Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia which have acquired great interest through recent excavations. The reception of the group at Lake Sevan was arranged in the most generous and friendly manner by the Academy of Science of Armenia. A trip by steamer on Lake Sevan, a dinner in honor of the group, and the subsequent stay in Yerivan will remain most pleasant memories. Professor Piotrovsky was indefatigable in the presentation of the sights and led the group through his model excavations of Arinberd and Karmir Blur.

This report closes with sincere thanks to the Academies of Science and to all colleagues in the USSR who contributed toward making this Congress a rewarding and memorable experience.



ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS

Obituaries

We record with regret the deaths of two scholars, each preeminent in his particular field:

ALBERTO C. BLANC, Director of the Institute of Palaeontology, University of Rome, who contributed important studies on the prehistory of the Mediterranean area (died July 3, 1960, at the age of 53);

ALFRED KROEBER, Professor Emeritus at the University of California, who was an authority on New World anthropology and archaeology (died October 5, 1960, at the age of 84).

Reconnaissance at Leptis Magna

In the spring of 1960 an expedition sent to Libya by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania uncovered architectural remains of an early Phoenician colony at the site of the Roman city of Leptis Magna, about seventy-five miles east of Tripoli. The expedition was directed by Mr. Brandon Barringer and Mrs. Theresa H. Carter. To the latter we owe this account of the expedition's work.

Under the stage of the great Roman theater at Leptis Magna archaeologists from the British School at Rome had previously discovered Punic graves containing material not much earlier than 500 B.C. Our primary objective, however, was to locate the original settlement, in the hope that it would yield material for the study of the little known early phases of Phoenician commerce and colonial culture, which played an important role in the western Mediterranean from the ninth century B.C. onward, and which were epitomized in the powerful Punic city-state of Carthage.

In the last few days of excavation a sondage at the northern margin of the Roman forum (first century B.C.) produced what we at first assumed to be the inside corner of an extremely well constructed Punic building. Further ex-

ploration revealed a wall of solid proportions (40 cm. thick) running north and south, from which piers jut out; our first "corner" proved to be simply one of these intersections. The upper surface of the Punic walls is found about one meter below the level of the forum; the building is sealed beneath one or two layers of Roman cement composition. Its foundations extend a meter below the floor level and the walls are preserved for two meters above the floor. We were fortunate in finding, just under the floor, Corinthian pottery datable to the second half of the seventh century B.C. This is a very respectable date for Western Phoenician architecture, and it is most rewarding to find walls in such a good state of preservation. The type of mortarless small-stone construction employed is totally unlike any of the Roman construction at Leptis Magna but quite similar to the remains of early Punic walls at other sites in the western Mediterranean area.

Excavations are continuing on a small scale, in the hope of determining the dimensions of the first building. Most recent reports indicate that the north-south wall, which has been explored for a length of eight meters, extends farther north, toward the sea (which is only a short distance beyond the new finds), and south toward the forum. More structures appear to adjoin the exterior of this wall. In brief, our information dictates the advisability of another season's work.

"The Human Species"

A group of articles which should be of great interest to our readers is "The Human Species," which appeared in the September, 1960, issue of *Scientific American*. Nine authorities have written on: "Tools and Human Evolution," "The Origin of Society," "The Origin of Speech," "The Distribution of Man," "The Agricultural Revolution," "The Origin of Cities," "The Scientific

Revolution," "The Human Population," and "The Present Evolution of Man." Each article is a succinct, authoritative and up-to-the-minute account, written for the layman and of importance to both professional and amateur archaeologists.

The issue containing these articles was quickly exhausted, but the nine articles have been reprinted and are available either singly (20 cents) or as a group (\$1.50) from *Scientific American*, 415 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

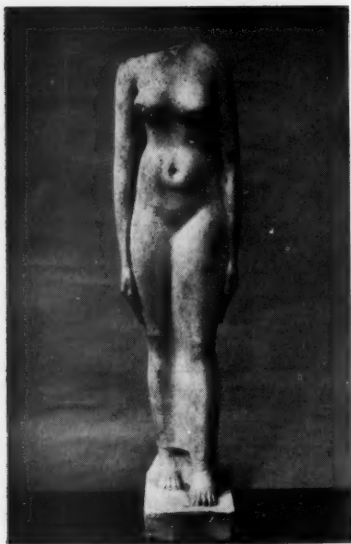
Egyptian Sculpture in Brooklyn

An exhibition of Egyptian sculpture of the Late Period (700 B.C. to A.D. 100) has been on view at the Brooklyn Museum since mid-October. Sculptures in stone, bronze, wood, ivory and faience from over fifty public and private collections here and abroad were assembled by Bernard V. Bothmer, Associate Curator.

The sculptures represent the begin-

The "Black Head," first century B.C. Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum.





Female figure, third century B.C. Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, Egypt.

ning of an era of creative revival, stimulated by the conquering Kushites who commissioned Egyptian sculptors to model their likenesses. For that reason a new trend was introduced—attempts were made to endow the faces of the statues with something more than a benign and idealized expression, to give them character and feeling. This period, beginning in 700 B.C., started a trend toward almost brutal realism in sculpture. In less than two hundred years the development of realism in the portraiture of Egypt influenced the artists of Greece, eventually Rome and, finally, the western world.

A number of sculptures, now dispersed in fragments, have been temporarily reunited in this exhibition. It was discovered that the head of Iahmes-sa-neith from the temple of the god Ptah at Memphis, in the collection of the Musée du Louvre, is the upper part of a kneeling figure in the Brooklyn Museum's collection. A bust in the Metropolitan Museum in New York was found to belong to a torso in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. At least two thousand years have passed since this statue was discarded and thrown into a pit in the temple of Karnak. Other sculptures reunited for the exhibition include the black granite head of a priest of Amun in the Chicago Natural History Museum. Research revealed that this head matches a torso in the Brooklyn Museum with

an inscription identifying this priest of Amun as Mentuemhat, the most powerful Egyptian of his day, whose tomb rivaled the grandeur of any in ancient Egypt.

A splendid example of the group of heroic sculptures of the first century B.C. is the "Black Head," made of diorite, in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum. The polished surface of the face is in startling contrast to the soft gray of the unpolished curly hair. From the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, Egypt, comes the second sculpture illustrated here, a statue which is thoroughly Egyptian, yet owes its existence to Greek influence. Made of white limestone, it dates ca. 300-275 B.C. Numerous other great and famous works of art—as for instance the Berlin "Green Head," the Boston "Green Head," and the portrait head from the Gulbenkian Collection—are among the 141 masterpieces included in this important exhibition.

Pow-wow in Vienna

The 34th International Congress of Americanists was held in Vienna, July 18-25, 1960. Its membership list contained 387 names from forty different countries. Nearly two-thirds of the members were present, including a large delegation from the United States. At the opening session at the University, where all activities centered, the president of the organizing committee, Dr. Robert Heine-Geldern, was, by acclamation, elected President of the Congress. Dr. Anna Hohenwart-Gerlachstein was Secretary General.

A vast number of papers was offered. The official program contained 169, and while a few of them were not read, others were added during the Congress and the number diminished only slightly. The morning and afternoon sessions were, therefore, often quite long and, offering sometimes twelve or fourteen papers, reached the limit of one's endurance. This despite the fact that the lectures were in ten different sections, a general session and three symposia. The sections were: Archaeology, Ethnology, Ancient Civilizations, Acculturation, Linguistics, Colonial History, Physical Anthropology, Ethnobotany and Ethnozoology, Pacific Region and History of Anthropology. Of the three symposia one, "Pictorial and Written Sources for Middle American Native History," was

of interest to archaeologists. Most of the general session was also dedicated to archaeology. Here the report of Gordon Ekholm and Clifford Evans on the program and the results of the first year of "Interrelationships of New World Cultures," the new project of the Institute of Andean Research, was especially interesting and stimulating, since important knowledge on different areas, often long neglected, has already been gained.

As always, it proved impossible to attend all the papers of archaeological interest, since they were distributed among different sections and often read at the same time. It would be equally impossible in this short report to give the contents or even the titles of the seventy papers which could be classified as archaeological. Many were preliminary reports of new excavations, ranging from the Bering Strait (Bandi and Giddings) to Chile (Berdichevsky) and Argentina (Rex Gonzales) and from early primitive hunting societies to late sophisticated civilizations. Other papers treated aspects of recent discoveries and their connections with larger conceptions. If there was a general trend among these archaeological papers, it was the concentration of work on hitherto neglected areas and the attempt to establish new chronological sequences, as for instance in the papers of Michael Coe and Claude Baudez, Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans, and Rex Gonzales, to name only a few. There was, with one exception, nothing sensational among the reports, but most of them were the result of hard work, in the field as well as at the desk, and showed that American archaeology is steadily progressing, based on sound deductions rather than high-flown illusions. It was this, and the prospect of a steady increase of knowledge, which made this Congress remarkable.

The only sensational announcement was made during the general session on the morning of the last day and it was, therefore, missed by a number of participants who had already left. Dr. Heine-Geldern reported that a small clay head of a figurine, found by Garcia Payon (Mexico) in a burial of the Matlazincan phase at Calixahuac under three sealed and undisturbed floors has been identified by Classical archaeologists as a well known Roman type of the second century A.D. If this proves to be true the piece would be

the first real pre-Columbian import found in a controlled excavation in the Americas.

In comparison with the sessions and the very intensive exchange of ideas, social events remained somewhat in the background, underscoring the essential working character of this Congress. Invitations were extended by the Chancellor of the Austrian Republic, the Mayor of Vienna and the Ethnological Museum. The last mentioned was for the opening of the new exhibitions on American archaeology and ethnology and showed us the treasures, many unknown, which are hidden in this museum. Foremost and of special interest were the Mexican objects brought to Europe during the early period of conquest; on these a splendid study by K. A. Nowotny was presented to the members of the Congress. Lively discussions centered on many of the exhibited pieces, and every day, at free moments, one was able to meet fellow-members in these rooms.

On the afternoon of July 25th the Congress came to a close, after accepting an invitation to Mexico for the celebration of the 35th Congress in 1962. So ended another of the international meetings of Americanists. Like its precursors, it will stimulate new investigations, as the Congress has done ever since it was inaugurated in Nancy in 1874.

WOLFGANG HABERLAND

Scholarships to Rome and Athens

The Trustees of Eta Sigma Phi, honorary Classical fraternity, announce that two scholarships will be offered in 1961 to enable members of Eta Sigma Phi Fraternity to attend the Summer Sessions of the American Academy in Rome and the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Each scholarship includes a stipend and remission of tuition fees. Six semester hours of credit may be earned at each session; this is applicable toward an advanced degree in Classics in most graduate schools.

Those eligible for the scholarships are Eta Sigma Phi members who have received a Bachelor's degree since January 1, 1956, or who will have received it by June 1961, and who have not received a doctoral degree.

Inquiries and requests for applica-

tion blanks should be addressed to Professor H. R. Butts, Executive Secretary, Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham 4, Alabama. The deadline for submitting applications is January 31, 1961.

Discovery in Arizona

A sacred image which was of key importance in the religious ceremonies of Pueblo Indians living in Arizona between A.D. 1250 and 1350 was discovered this year by the Southwest Archaeological Expedition of the Chicago Natural History Museum, working near Vernon, Arizona.

Dr. Paul S. Martin, Chief Curator of Anthropology and leader of the expedition, reports that the stone image, very possibly a *katchina*, was found in a secret crypt within one of the largest rectangular kivas, or ceremonial



Model of sacred stone image found in a kiva near Vernon, Arizona. Right arm restored.

chambers, ever excavated in the Southwest. Dr. Martin says that to his knowledge no one has ever before found a *katchina* of either wood or stone in a kiva. As far as he can determine, this example is unique.

Present-day Hopi Indians carve wooden *katchina* figures to represent various deities, and use them in the religious education of their children.

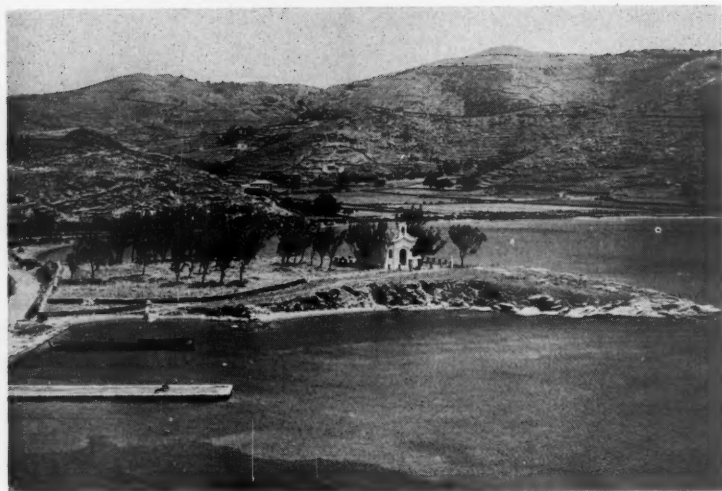
But while the figures are more than playthings, they are not in themselves sacred. However, masks and other paraphernalia used by men who impersonate the *katchina* deities are extremely sacred and are stored in kivas when not in use. The fact that this image was hidden in a secret masonry vault, one foot square, within an unusually large kiva suggests that it possessed holiness and power in its own right.

The three-dimensional figure, nine inches high, is of sandstone and is painted with gay colors—black, orange, green, blue. The right arm is broken off and was not found in the crypt, perhaps indicating that it was broken intentionally in order to curtail the powers of the *katchina* when the Indians using the kiva moved away from the pueblo. With the image in the vault was a tiny jar painted with red and black crosses and containing a few beads of stone, shell, jet and turquoise.

The crypt in which the objects were found appears to duplicate on a small scale the architecture of the great kiva itself. It has been suggested that the crypt may have symbolized the entrance to the underworld; thus the stone figure may be related to underworld ceremonies that are still a part of Hopi religion today. According to another interpretation the figure may have been an ancestral cult deity.

Fellowship for Study in Egypt

The American Research Center in Egypt announces two fellowships of five thousand dollars each for study in Egypt during 1961-1962, one in Egyptology and one in Islamic studies. These fellowships are available to American citizens who have a doctoral degree or who have completed the academic requirements for such a degree and are working on their theses. Preference is given to applicants interested in art and archaeology of the ancient or mediaeval periods, though those pursuing studies in history or philology will not necessarily be excluded. Persons who wish to do research in Late Classical or Early Christian subjects will also be considered, provided such research is primarily related to Egypt. Applications may be secured from Mrs. Elizabeth Riefstahl, Executive Secretary, P.O. Box 27, South Essex, Massachusetts, and must be received before February 1, 1961.



Promontory of Agia Irini, Ceos, from the west.

Excavations in Ceos

Trial trenches were excavated at a Bronze Age site on the promontory of Agia Irini in Ceos (an island near the coast of Attica, in Greece) during a fortnight's campaign in late July and early August, 1960. The investigation was made by J. L. Caskey and Mrs. Caskey for the University of Cincinnati, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and with the cooperation of the Ephor of the Cyclades, Mr. Zaphiropoulos.

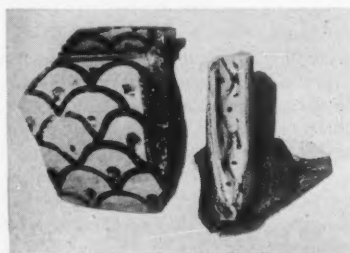
This site has been known for many years. The word "RUINS" appears on a British Admiralty chart of a century ago, referring undoubtedly to the broken ends of ancient walls that could be seen projecting from the banks of the headland. J. Psyllas, a local historian of the island, refers in 1920 to bits of masonry and fragments of pottery. Archaeologists (G. Welter, Miss K. Scholes and others) have mentioned it in recent articles, but systematic excavation had not been undertaken before now. The place was chosen for examination because its depth of deposits offered possibilities of testing successive strata—a rarity in the rocky islands of the Aegean—and because its location in the shelter of a splendid harbor, on a main line of shipping between Greece and Asia Minor, suggested that there might be useful evidences of ancient trade.

Six trenches were dug. Almost everywhere there were stone walls,

heavy and well built, immediately below the modern surface. Some were found to be standing to a height of more than two meters. Evidently the buildings are large and complex. Pottery associated with them is chiefly of little known local types, fairly coarse and monotonous, but there are numerous pieces of imported Mycenaean ware and some of Cycladic style with elaborate polychrome patterns in dull paint, as well as two pieces of stone vessels that indicate Minoan-Mycenaean connections. Certain of the walls and their plaster coatings were damaged, probably by an earthquake, which may have occurred in Late Helladic II. Other parts of the site are seen to have been occupied in Late Helladic III, presumably after a period of reconstruction. The sequence of events can be ascertained only by further excavation.

Under the big buildings there are remains of smaller houses that are as-

Imported Mycenaean ware (Late Helladic II) found at Agia Irini.



signable on the evidence of Gray Minyan and matt-painted sherds to the Middle Bronze Age. It is not yet clear whether the site at Agia Irini was occupied in the Early Cycladic period. On the north coast of the island, however, scarcely half an hour away, there is another promontory called Kephala, where obsidian is found in abundance and graves of Early Cycladic types are discernible. It is hoped that further investigation of these settlements and extensive exploration of the entire region may be made.

JOHN L. CASKEY

Periodical Revived

From Jay Gluck, the artist whose attractive heading for the "Archaeological News" section has been used since 1950, and who now resides in Japan, we have received the following announcement:

France-Asie, a French language monthly review published for fourteen years in Saigon, and its sister quarterly, the English *Asia*, published for four years, recently established offices in Tokyo where the two magazines are being published by an editorial committee of French and Japanese as the bilingual *France-Asie/ASIA*, dedicated, as in the past, to all aspects of Asiatica, including archaeology. The first Tokyo edition includes an article by Dr. Roman Ghirshman on "Thirty Years of Archaeological Activity in Iran" and a brief review of Japanese archaeological activity in Iran by Mr. Jay Gluck, of Wakayama University, Japan, the sole American on the staff. As roving editor, he is now in Iran preparing a special Iran issue to commemorate that nation's 2500th anniversary. This publication will include a survey of all archaeological digs presently being undertaken in Iran by United States, European, Iranian and Japanese groups.

France-Asie/ASIA offers a free copy of its first or second Japan-published issues to any reader of *ARCHAEOLOGY* requesting one. Write *France-Asie/ASIA*, attn. director René deBerval, 18-2 Tomisaka-cho, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo. An index of the 167 French and sixteen English issues published to date is in press, includes many articles of interest to archaeology, and is also available to interested parties upon request.

Summer Dig at Corinth: 1960

The following report was sent us by Dr. Henry S. Robinson, Director of the American School of Classical Studies, who conducted the excavation described here, in which he was assisted by Rebecca Robinson.

For three weeks during the summer of 1960 the American School of Classical Studies undertook a modest excavation in the area known popularly as the "Baths of Aphrodite." This is the name given to a spring which wells out near the foot of a high rock scarp below the north city wall of ancient Corinth, a short distance to the east of the sanctuary of Asclepius. The natural supply of water at this point had been increased in antiquity by the cutting of three collecting tunnels; these were dug into the impervious clay directly beneath the porous conglomerate rock through which surface water seeps down. It seems likely that the three tunnels, the longest of which is only 23 meters in length, are contemporary with the large hydraulic projects of the Peirene and Glauce fountains and of the Sacred Spring, all of which probably belong to the period of the tyrants (ca. 620-550 B.C.). In the hope of finding some evidence for ancient architectural embellishment of this spring we determined to excavate directly in front of the central tunnel. We found our progress impeded by vast masses of the conglomerate shelf which at various times in antiquity had fallen from above and blocked the area. At only one point were we able to penetrate through this mass of fallen rock to the original Classical level. Here, fortunately, we came down directly upon the mouth of a shaft cut through native clay for a depth of some four meters. At the bottom of the shaft a tunnel leads out to the northwest. The shaft and tunnel appear to have been designed to carry off the excess water from the spring to the fields below: in more recent times the modern owners of these fields have installed pipes to carry off the water to cisterns from which they irrigate their vineyards and gardens. The pottery found in this shaft and in the tunnel indicate that the overflow system was in use in the fourth century B.C., and it certainly went out of use by the middle of the first century after Christ.

The area of the "Baths of Aphrodite" is one of the most picturesque in

Old Corinth. The ledge of conglomerate which overhangs the three tunnels is penetrated by the roots of fig trees hanging down in long moss-covered trailers. Moss has covered much of the rock surface within the cave-like formation beneath the ledge. From the shelf above water drips constantly, augmenting the supply which flows out in abundance from the central tunnel. In front of the ledge, groves of bamboo spring up rapidly as a result of the moisture which is everywhere present below the surface. The cool shade offered by this lovely spot apparently attracted the Turkish inhabitants of Corinth. A Turk, who may be the Kjamil Bey referred to by some of the early travelers, constructed a large dwelling, including an elaborate bath, upon the promontory above and to the east of the "Baths of Aphrodite." From the upper level of this dwelling he built an elaborate masonry staircase descending in three flights to the "Baths of Aphrodite" below. Popular legend has it that here the ladies of Kjamil Bey's harem bathed during the heat of the day.

The area in which the Bey's residence was laid out appears to mark the course along which passed the main thoroughfare of ancient Corinth, the highway which connected the city with

the harbor town of Lechaem; after it reached the line of the city wall at the north, the road must have turned eastward to descend into the plain leading toward the sea. In the hope that we might establish the precise line of the Lechaem Road in this area, we dug two trial trenches within the grounds that once belonged to Kjamil Bey. The trenches were separated by a modern building of much humbler character than its Turkish predecessor, the Co-operative Cheese Factory of Old Corinth. Unfortunately, neither of our trenches gave any certain evidence of the course of the Lechaem Road, but in one trench we found evidence of a ravine running from south to north along the promontory in early Roman times; Lechaem Road might perhaps have passed through that ravine. In our southern trench we found evidence of occupation in late Roman times and also in the fourth century B.C. Of particular interest were two wells and a double cistern of the fourth century. From the very bottom of one of the wells which produced abundant pottery, we obtained three complete terracotta lamps (without handles), three bronze saucers with handles, designed to hold the lamps, and a pair of bronze tweezers apparently used for drawing out the wick of the lamps. We found

THE ARCHAEOLOGIST TO HIS LOVE

You're the alluvium in my impluvium

Rare as coin of Cunobelin (gold);

You're the bronze sediment left on the pediment,

Clue to the sculptural beauties of old.

A glance from your eyes is more magic than Isis,

Than close girt Minoans more slender your waist.

Eyes of Sumerian, hair of Mousterian,

Queenly as fair Cleopatra (but chaste).

O out of syenite, steatite, bakelite,

Fashion me jewels your heart to ensnare;

Carve than Praxiteles statues more fit to please,

And with gold fibulae bind up your hair.

Why then so cryptical? Let us be diptychal,

Pledged in a kylix our wedding shall be.

In the cult centre can some hierophantic man

Annulet put on your Insula III.

DAVID CLARKE

Reprinted by courtesy of *The Caian*.

in addition several pieces of wood and bone, the precise function of which is not yet clear. The principal result of our work in these trial trenches in the area of the "Baths of Aphrodite" has been to amplify our comprehension of the urban development of the ancient city. We find that the residential section of the city extended to the line of the north city wall in the fourth century and Hellenistic times and from early to late Roman times. No Byzantine occupation is apparent; it is most probable that the small Byzantine settlement of Corinth was concentrated in the area of the ancient Agora and to the south of it. In the Turkish period, however, the settlement again expanded and residences moved up toward the northern edge of the city plateau.

Nobel Prize for Carbon 14 Dating

Just as we go to press, announcement has been made of the award of a Nobel Prize to Dr. Willard F. Libby for his discovery of the method of dating organic matter by its radioactive carbon content.

Archaeologists all over the world, to whom Dr. Libby's discovery has brought hope of dating otherwise undatable material and of corroborating established dates, will want to join in offering congratulations upon this well deserved honor.

Greek Art in Basel

A magnificent exhibition of masterpieces of Greek art was assembled this year in honor of the 500th anniversary of the University of Basel. Many archaeologists routed their summer travels through Basel in order to see this splendid show, and they were not disappointed.

A rare opportunity was afforded of



Bronze pitcher, probably from Greece. Ca. 520 B.C. Height 16.7 cm.

seeing all kinds of works of art from more than sixty private collections, chiefly in Switzerland. Even the most knowledgeable specialist would have had to spend months in efforts to see all these objects if they had not been so conveniently assembled for this occasion. Displayed chronologically and in the most advantageous manner, they provided a view of the whole of Aegean art from its beginnings well into the Roman period. Illustrated here is one of the most delightful pieces—a bronze pitcher with the head of a nymph on the handle.

In addition to the statues, vases, jewelry and coins (which were especially notable) belonging to private owners, there were numerous rare pieces from public museums. Brought

to the exhibition from their usual places in Rome and Berlin were the Apollo and two Niobids from the famous group. Statues from the Louvre, from Palermo, from Hamburg and from Cleveland—to name a few among the thirty-four contributing museums in Italy, Germany, France, Israel, the United States and Switzerland—emphasized the importance of the exhibit. An illustrated catalogue (to be reviewed later) was prepared by Professor Karl Schefold.

Paris Congress

The Sixth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences met in Paris at the Musée de l'Homme from July 30 to August 6, 1960. Although only about one-tenth of the nearly six hundred papers dealt with archaeology, they provided a review of recent work and points of view in nearly every part of the world, with emphasis on Europe and Middle America. A particularly attractive feature of the Congress was a specially arranged bus trip to the Périgord region, to which about sixty delegates devoted the week following the formal meetings. Numerous places of historic interest were visited en route, but the high point of the trip was the two days spent seeing the famous Palaeolithic sites of Combarelles, Font de Gaume, Cap Blanc, Laugerie Haute and Laugerie Basse, Le Moustier, Lascaux and the excavations in progress in Les Eyzies at the Abri Pataud under the direction of H. L. Movius of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Congress of Onomastic Sciences

A preliminary notice announces that the 7th International Congress of Toponymic and Onomastic Sciences will be held in the spring of 1961, at Florence and Pisa. Subjects which will be particularly emphasized are pre-Indo-Europeans and Indo-Europeans in the Mediterranean basin as reflected in place names and personal names, Latin, Germanic and insular Celtic onomastics in the early Middle Ages, and toponymy and cartography. Scholars who wish to give papers are urged to send summaries before January 15, 1961.

All inquiries should be sent to: Secretary of the International Committee of Onomastic Sciences, Institute of Glottology, University of Florence, 4 Piazza S. Marco, Florence, Italy.

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

IONIAN TRADE AND COLONIZATION, by CARL ROEBUCK. x, 148 pages, 4 maps. Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1959 (Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, IX) \$7.50

This is an analysis of the economic pattern relating Archaic Ionia to the world of its time, so far as this can be constructed from archaeological and historical evidence. It begins with a description of the geography of Ionia and a sketch of its political, economic and social development, viewed internally. Then are discussed the relations between Ionia on the one hand and, on the other, Phrygia and Lydia, Syria and Cyprus, the Aegean and mainland Greece. Following this is an account of the Ionians' efforts to get access to precious metals—tin, copper and iron—to land for colonization in Thrace, the Thracian Chersonese and the Propontis, and to food—chiefly grain and fish—in the Black Sea. In the concluding chapter, "The Pattern of Trade," is maintained the thesis that the whole development was the result of the enterprise of private individuals and not, on the whole, of public initiative.

The book is rich in, and perhaps chiefly valuable for, its exhaustive collection of documented evidence for the distribution of various products throughout the Hellenic world. In this meticulous presentation it is often difficult to see the pattern, and even at a broader view the pattern is perhaps not so well defined as one might hope. Furthermore, although careful account is taken of products like wine which might be shipped in ceramic containers, it is a fact, as is carefully pointed out, that other articles of commerce such as textiles cannot be comparably represented in excavated material. Finally, and again as is recognized, the varying extent of archaeological exploration of the many sites potentially concerned introduces another element of uncer-

tainty, although by now there has been enough excavation to reduce this appreciably. Thus the analysis is inevitably incomplete in an ideal sense, so that the broad pattern is vague and uncertain in spots, though many segments are clear and revealing and the reader will feel complete confidence that within existing limitations the treatment is thoroughly sound.

There are many details of special interest: the material from Smyrna (only recently becoming available), the sketches of Al Mina and Naukratis, the discussion of the grain and fish trade in the Euxine, are only a few. And, finally, the many allusions to the work being done at Smyrna, Sardis and Gordion remind us that we are at the beginning of new perspectives of the relations of the Aegean with the East, in which Roebuck's work will certainly be one of the essential points of reference.

ROBERT SCRANTON

Emory University

ORFEBRERIA PREHISPANICA DE COLOMBIA: Estilos Tolima y Muisca, by JOSÉ PÉREZ DE BARRADAS. Text volume, xv, 385 pages, 147 figures, 10 color plates, 1 map. Plate volume, 20 pages, 287 plates. Museo del Oro del Banco de la República (Bogotá, Colombia), Madrid 1958

Colombia, wrote Pedro Cieza de León, would have yielded more treasure of gold than Peru, had there been a concentration of gold in the hands of a conquering dynasty rather than isolated *caciques*. His estimate, made over four centuries ago, is buttressed by the unique collection in the Museo del Oro established by the Banco de la República in Bogotá. The circumstances which led to the formation of this collection have already been explained (ARCHAEOLOGY 10 [1957] 76).

In 1954, José Pérez de Barradas published two magnificently illustrated

and scholarly volumes on the *Estilo Colima*. The two volumes under review, of similar format, deal with two other distinct types of metalwork, both found within the drainage of the great Magdalena River. Subsequent volumes are promised to describe the Quimbaya and Sinú styles. Students of New World metallurgy must pay tribute to the authorities of the Banco de la República and to the author for the publication of another major contribution to the subject.

The style called Tolima has been found in the Department of that name, principally in the Río Soldana valley, with scattered examples from the Departments del Cauca, Caldas, Cundinamarca and Huila. The group was isolated geographically as the result of three major finds by *huaqueros* between 1944 and 1948. The associated pottery and grave types are not recorded. Individual examples of the style had previously been published as "Chibcha," "Quimbaya" and also "Pijao," the name of the sixteenth-century inhabitants of the area.

Most Tolima pieces are thin, cast pendants with rectangular heads surmounted by two plumes. In general, it seems that supernatural beings are represented, at times with considerable vigor but with a limited range in ideology. There is also a group of small but massive castings which seem totally unrelated to the Tolima style or to other Colombian artifacts.

By far the largest group of Colombian metalwork comes from the *Sabanas* of Bayacá and Cundinamarca and is attributed to the Chibcha-speaking Muisca who occupied the region at the time of the Conquest. Some of the personal jewelry, notably the large cast breast-plates, are technical and artistic masterpieces. Most Muisca artifacts, however, are of inferior workmanship.

Male and female figures are frequently represented, often showing de-

tails of headdress, nose and ear pendants, bracelets and pectorals. Accouterments include spear-throwers and spears, clubs, bows and arrows (rare), shields, bags, baskets, cradles and trophy heads. In addition to human figures, various animals are represented, including snakes, birds, crocodiles, also shells, and utensils such as spear-throwers, cradles and combs.

If these objects are votive offerings, it follows that symbolism was more important than realism and that there was no reason to demand artistic merit in an article destined to be discarded.

An important and unusual aspect of this monograph is that almost every artifact has been analyzed for gold, silver, copper and OMI (= *otros metales e impurezas*). There are, however, no structural studies. Most pieces appear to have been cast by the lost-wax process and there is little evidence of subsequent hammering or soldering.

The author classifies Colombian metals by their copper content, suggesting a chronological sequence. What he calls pre-tumbaga is gold with less than 15 percent copper, presumably an impurity in the native gold. He recognizes three successive classes of tumbaga alloys, each with an increased copper content. This scheme of development may be entirely correct but it must remain purely speculative until confirmed by stratigraphic excavations or radiocarbon dates. In Panama, both these assets are partially available. Changes in style of metalwork and in types of ornaments can be followed in Coclé for about twelve hundred years before the Conquest, but the nature of the alloys and the manufacturing techniques do not reveal a chronological pattern.

S. K. LOTHROP

Peabody Museum
Harvard University

THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome, by LESLIE A. WHITE. xiv, 378 pages, 9 figures. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York 1959 \$7.50

This volume is the first instalment of an ambitious trilogy which will carry the reader from most ancient times into the future. Projected coverage is as follows: to the fall of Rome (the present work); the Fuel Revolution and its concomitants; and the coming century, to A.D. 2058. This

reviewer awaits the last volume with interest, since the author is an avowed proponent of cultural determinism amounting to a sort of predestination.

Though the subtitle and the jacket blurb suggest that this contribution is a history of culture, it is an unorthodox one, if a history at all. The first part of the book, "Primitive Culture," is primarily an elucidation of White's unique view of culture, seen as a phenomenon capable of being studied apart from man. The somewhat argumentative manner in which it is written is doubtless a product of the unpopularity of White's views among his colleagues.

The latter part of the book deals with the agricultural revolution and its consequences. Here one finds a reflection of the author's focus on technology as the mainspring and pivot of human culture; one may anticipate an elaboration of this attitude in the second volume.

Only on a long-range basis can this work be seen to trace the development of culture. Time-perspective is minimal and one may characterize the results as being a generalized text in cultural anthropology.

R. F. G. SPIER

University of Missouri

THE COINAGE OF CAULONIA, by SYDNEY P. NOE. 62 pages, 22 plates. American Numismatic Society, New York 1958 (Numismatic Studies, No. 9) \$5.00

Mr. Noe's *Coinage of Caulonia* reveals the output of a single mint. Every attainable coin has been hunted out, to be represented in a catalogue of dies which forms a compendium of 234 specimen coins arranged in die-combinations and sequence. They are to be viewed in relation to neighboring mints and as adding historical witness. A newly discovered coin of Caulonia may now be matched against the catalogued types and be known at once to corroborate or supplement the variations of the series established.

A student of the mints of Magna Graecia will read Mr. Noe's *Caulonia* in conjunction with the earlier studies of what amounts to a South Italian series. In *Metapontum* Mr. Noe has included, for example, the systematic discussion of technical, chronological and historical materials which pertain to this book as well. In *Caulonia* itself

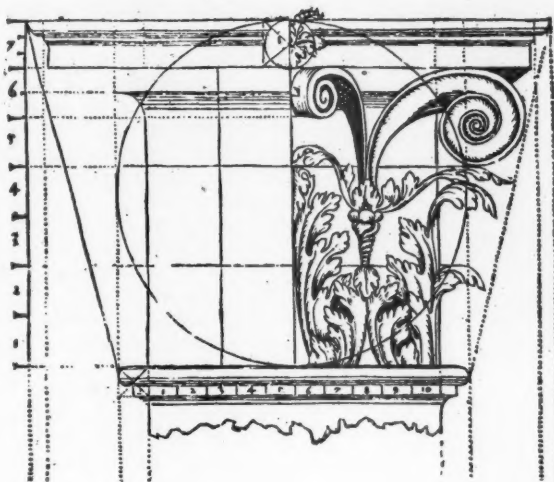
the Table of Contents shows the categories under which the notes will fall, to account for interpretations of dies. The Introduction states the questions at issue, the means of fixing suppositions, and the points at which new discoveries in this mint or another may furnish a needed connection.

Historical evidence is for the most part taken for granted. There is, on the other hand, a helpful reiteration of the uses of terms and procedures: the role of successive obverse and reverse dies, the implications of incuse and double-relief, types and symbols and letters, the basis of every grouping and sequence, with die-combinations sometimes linking coins not otherwise thought of together, the manner of working backward and forward through wearing and weakening breaks in the dies.

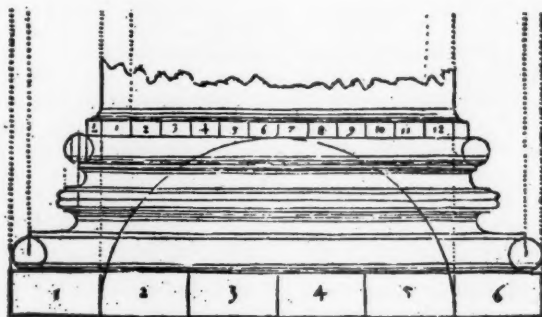
The catalogue of dies thus established is attended by two far-sighted additions: a description and photograph of each of the thirteen plated coins ferreted out, and a record equally complete for the South Italian hoard found near Taranto in 1929. In these reinforcements *Caulonia* may again be seen as reaching beyond a single mint, toward a more accurate reading of Greek coins as a whole. The matter of plating recurs insistently in the study of hoards and deposits, as for those now found in Paestum and in the Isthmian temple. In *Metapontum* Mr. Noe puts the plated coins in regular series, as linking dies or obvious imitations; in *Caulonia* they stand as a group.

As for the South Italian hoard, it is the greatest satisfaction to see it presented entire, to see exemplified the helps and pitfalls of putting a hoard to use in dating. It is set to work first for the seven Caulonia staters in a hoard of thirty-eight coins, and then it is turned to account for relationships. There are staters of Tarentum, Metapontum, Sybaris and Croton, one stater of Poseidonia, and one promising tetradrachm of Sicilian Gela.

Both historian and numismatist will appreciate Mr. Noe's forbearance in making assumptions which must wait on further knowledge and on connections yet to be found. Is the coin-type a design of the die-cutter or did he have a sculptured representation as a model? Evidence for Caulonia seems to urge a model, but decisiveness wisely awaits some new-found coin, or a sculptured relief, perhaps, as Mr. Noe



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suggests, among the South Italian metopes and plaques. Numismatists will be interested, too, in Mr. Noe's "feeling that the date in the *Historia Numorum* (550) is too early."

The reader sees then the mint of Caulonia itself in description and notably excellent plates, its relation to neighboring cities, and details vital for ultimate judgments in construing and dating Greek coins.

EUNICE WORK

Tallahassee, Florida

HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN BRIEFWECHSEL, edited by ERNST MEYER. Vol. I, 1842-1875. 382 pages, 17 illustrations. Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1953 DM 24. Vol. II, 1876-1890. 488 pages, 17 illustrations. Gebr. Mann, Berlin 1958 DM 35

Schliemann's remarkable life is mirrored in his correspondence, an enormous quantity of which is preserved. Dr. Ernst Meyer has devoted years to reading (sometimes deciphering), selecting and editing some 60,000 letters written by and to Schliemann. In many languages—German, French, Dutch, Italian, Russian, Greek or English, as circumstances required—the letters make fascinating reading. Schliemann's opinions on many subjects besides archaeology are worth noting. The few quotations which follow are from the letters written in English.

In 1863 he advises his half-brother Ernst to study languages: "... Even if I were locked up in prison I would learn any language in the world if I

had only a dictionary and a grammar. Man endowed with energy can easily enough learn a language merely from books and without any assistance of a teacher. Talent means energy and perseverance and nothing more."

From New Orleans, in 1867, he writes this interesting commentary on the post-war situation: "All the complaints ... as to the former slaves' ... laziness, prostitutions, unwillingness to work and total incapacity to be educated, are downright falsehoods. ... I ... have made the most minute inquiries and investigations ... and I can assure you that they are as willing and eager to work and as energetic and perseverant in their labour as any workmen I have yet seen and that, both morally and intellectually, they stand much higher than their former tyrants and present calumniators! In fact in seeing ... in the State Conventions negro-delegates, who but 2½ years ago were ignorant, abject slaves, gesturing gracefully and making most able speeches, in deliberating on framing a constitution for the State, I could not help regretting that I was not myself a negro to be able to speak as they did."

"I cannot tell you," he writes in 1868, "how much I love Chicago and how highly I esteem its glorious inhabitants! ... their enterprising spirit, their great taste for fine arts, their disinterested kindness to foreigners and—above all the amazing results obtained ... in their wonderful ... schools ... where boys and girls of

12 to 14 read and explained before me Xenophon with the greatest ease and fluency. ... "One cannot help but reflect that he might be a little disappointed today!

The correspondence concerning Schliemann's various excavations, too long and involved to quote, is among the most interesting. In a letter to Scribners (1883) about his book, *Ilios*, he concludes with characteristic lack of modesty: "... As Troy is now entirely excavated, and as there is no other Troy to excavate, the life of this book will last as long as men will love divine Homer, that is to say as long as our globe will be inhabited by men."

Although, fortunately, he did not excavate Troy "entirely" but left something for the more scientific excavators who were to follow, he was nevertheless right in thinking that his work will endure. These volumes of letters add greatly to our knowledge of this interesting character whose "energy and perseverance" added up to genius.

G. D. W.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT, by JAMES B. PRITCHARD. xii, 263 pages, 77 figures, including several maps. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1958 \$5.00

Of the many popular books on archaeology and the Bible published in the last three decades this is one of the best. It is non-technical, concise, written in clear English and based on a thorough first-hand knowledge of the material. The aim of the author is to show how archaeology has corrected and supplemented what was known about Old Testament persons and places since the days, scarcely more than a century ago, when all such knowledge came from a few Greek documents and the books of the Bible.

In general the arrangement is geographical rather than chronological. An appreciation of Sir Flinders Petrie, who introduced scientific archaeology into Palestine in the late nineteenth century, occupies the first pages, while the scholar and explorer Edward Robinson, who surveyed the land half a century earlier and is called "the founder of Palestinology," is not mentioned until page 37 and not discussed until pages 57-62. The first two chapters deal with what workers in Palestine have produced by excavating and by exploring the surface with attention

to the types of pottery picked up. A table on page 7 shows some of the principal pottery forms from the Chalcolithic age to the Hellenistic period. Subsequent chapters take up the contributions made by archaeologists who have worked in surrounding countries.

The illustrations are well chosen and well printed. Naturally most of the objects shown come from outside Palestine, for the Mosaic law forbade the making of statues. There are statues and relief portraits of kings from Egypt and Mesopotamia; but the one king of Israel whose picture is shown is Jehu, on the Black Obelisk, kissing the ground before Shalmaneser III.

A principal feature is the inclusion of a number of texts, some of them recently found, showing the intellectual and religious concepts of the nations among whom the people of the Old Testament lived. They are taken from the comprehensive *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by Pritchard. The texts selected are presented without the critical apparatus of the large volume and can be read easily. Thus the reader can get a good sampling of the legal, re-

ligious, proverbial and contemplative literature of the ancient neighbors of Palestine.

Contents of the book are selective. Only most important excavations are mentioned and only a portion of the literature which shows similarity to parts of the Old Testament could be included. But the book gives to the reader desiring some knowledge of the subject an opportunity to learn of the world in which the Bible of the Hebrews grew.

O. R. SELLERS

McCormick Theological Seminary

PROBLEMS IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TEXTILE CLASSIFICATION, by INA VANSTAN. x, 115 pages, 4 figures, 4 plates, 4 tables, frontispiece (in color). Florida State University, Tallahassee 1958 (Florida State University Studies, No. 29)

Miss VanStan's foreword states that her brief book "illustrates some of the more common and constantly recurring problems which arise in respect to the analysis, sorting and labelling of museum artifacts." Accurate determination of provenience, time level and function

is perhaps more difficult in the classification of Peruvian textiles (due to inadequate documentation for most collections) than in cataloguing artifacts for which more data are available.

The author's discussion is based upon five Peruvian textiles from Florida State University's Carter Collection, apparently selected for their unusual nature, though three of the five are rather ordinary types and two are distinguished only by technical features which, though not common, were not previously unknown. All the examples are tapestry from Central or South Coast areas, probably dating from late periods.

Each chapter discusses one textile from the standpoint of a particular problem: provenience, techniques and terminology, function, textile design and technology, or design objectives. VanStan has done a tremendous amount of research in the literature and supplies a fairly complete bibliography on Peruvian textiles (although the U's have been omitted). Unfortunately, the comparisons drawn from this research are often singularly arbitrary and subjective. I also found frus-

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trating her comparisons of specimens to unpublished, unillustrated items in the Carter Collection.

Two chapters seem especially weak. In "Textile Design and Technology" she concludes that a tapestry design is copied from a needlework design, though the latter is probably 1000 years older and possibly from a different part of the Peruvian coast. In "Design Objectives" she also hypothesizes "that designs generally were copied from some earlier source" (page 99). Though recognizing that Peruvian design was undoubtedly strongly controlled by tradition, she does not adequately distinguish between "copying" and design persistence. Her discussion of amusing aspects of Peruvian design and her attribution of humorous intent to the weaver places her on dangerous ground indeed. What people of one culture think funny may be serious to those of another, and the student of prehistoric and nonliterate peoples would be wise to avoid such ethnocentric speculations.

Although the book will undoubtedly prove too technical for the layman, the specialist in Peruvian textiles will find little new information. Since the author

reaches no real conclusions, the book's chief value lies in pointing out the problems faced by every museum curator in cataloguing specimens—problems which can only be solved by working with collections which are well documented and by intensive field work.

MARY ELIZABETH KING

*The Textile Museum
Washington, D. C.*

THE HISTORY OF COINS AND SYMBOLS IN ANCIENT ISRAEL, by WOLF WIRGIN and SIEGFRIED MANDEL, 264 pages, 38 figures, 32 plates. Exposition Press, New York 1958 \$7.50

This work is an attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the ancient Jewish coinage. The authors insist, for example, that the shekels often assigned to the period of the First Revolt (A.D. 66-70) were actually minted under the Maccabees, some two centuries earlier. They confidently assert that the "King Alexander" coins refer to Alexander the Great and not to Alexander Jannaeus. The "Freedom" issues, attributed by numismatic scholars to the Bar Kochba revolt (132-

135), should, the authors believe, be placed much earlier, since they commemorate the liberation under the Maccabees and were issued after the expulsion of Archelaus in A.D. 6. In addition to such criteria as the shapes of the coins, development of the designs, inscriptional details, they make use of psychological interpretation. While the arguments are by no means convincing and are frequently far-fetched, they do arouse reasonable doubts as to the reliability of the standard chronology of various issues.

In the last chapter, "Fertility Symbols on Ancient Jewish Coins," we find the authors following the modern tendency to discover sex meanings everywhere. The palm tree is a phallic symbol, as are the cornucopia, trumpet (shofar), lulab and ethrog, even the menorah, not to mention the pillars Jachin and Boaz which stood before Solomon's Temple.

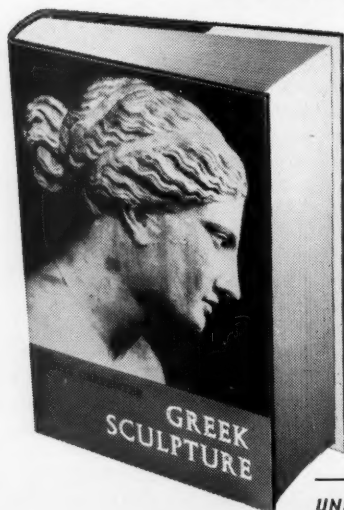
In the Introduction the assertion is made that the book is intended for (1) the general reader, (2) the expert numismatist, (3) the historian and (4) those interested in symbolism. The attempt to interest so diverse an assortment of readers is far from successful.

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Greek Sculpture



By Rhys Carpenter—An expert survey that traces the evolution of distinctive styles of Greek sculpture during the various periods of its six-hundred-year history. Arguing that changes in style occur not fortuitously—as a matter of current taste or individual talent—but according to discernible laws, the author presents a fresh and stimulating approach to Greek sculpture in terms of its formal and technical development. Illustrated with nearly fifty handsome plates. 304 pages, index. 1960.

\$6.95

Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom

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UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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The long, irrelevant passages dealing with the familiar facts of the development of coinage and the geography and history of Palestine are quite useless for the expert, while the technical discussions are wearisome for the general reader. The scholar will be annoyed by the inadequate bibliography, the scarcity of footnotes and the frequent omission of page references for passages quoted or cited. The style is often painfully inept and there are many instances of garbled syntax and errors in grammar and idiom.

Many of the numerous illustrations of coins are excellent. The format of the book is mediocre and its price is what an Italian would call *esagerato*.

HARRY J. LEON

University of Texas

L'ART DES CYCLADES, by CHRISTIAN ZERVOS. xiv, 279 pages, including 206 of plates, 3 color plates, 4 pages of maps. Editions "Cahiers d'Art," Paris 1957 10,000 fr. (100NF)

This is the second of a series of seven volumes which, when complete, will form one of the most ambitious photographic encyclopedias of Greek art ever attempted. From the fact that there are but fifty-eight pages of text compared with 206 plates, it is evident that this volume on the Cyclades, like its predecessor on Crete, is to be considered primarily as a photographic record. The 344 figures on these plates give the most complete picture available of the material remains of the Cycladic Bronze Age civilization; the excellent quality of the illustrations makes possible the fullest appreciation of the island crafts. The material has been divided into four groups, corresponding roughly to the production of the Early, Middle and Late Cycladic periods, with that from Syros kept apart and placed between the Early and Middle groups, a reflection of the author's doubts concerning the dating of the Syros assemblage. For some reason not explained, the figures of marble statuettes have been interspersed throughout the plates, which might seem to imply their association with the successive periods; however, this is stated not to be so.

The text begins with a list of all excavations and important chance finds in each island. There are summaries of the characteristics of each facet of

archaic and primitive art of all major cultures for museums and collectors

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Cycladic Bronze Age culture—houses, fortifications, tombs and funerary rites, metallurgy, stone work, ceramics, marble figurines. Over and over the author points out the inadequacy of our present knowledge and pleads for renewed excavations. But even present knowledge is not fully exploited in the more general sections on chronology and historical development. Although the Cyclades themselves have been neglected, much Cycladic material has recently come from excavations elsewhere, particularly on the Greek mainland, and this is of considerable value in sorting out the phases of Cycladic culture. For instance, the occurrence of Cycladic pottery of the Syros type in the very earliest Early Helladic I strata at a number of sites, particularly on the Attic coast, clearly precludes both the Middle Cycladic date that the author favors for the Syros complex and the date of 2600 B.C. that he assigns to the beginning of the Early Cycladic culture. He has sensed the relation between the Dimini culture of Thessaly and the Early Cycladic culture, but in order to relate them properly he dates the Thessaly II Neolithic culture 2500-2300 B.C.! Rather, the Dimini culture must date back into the fourth millennium B.C., and the beginning of Early Cycladic must be even earlier, as is necessitated also by the fact that it must be considerably earlier than the beginning of Early Helladic.

The author has no indecision with regard to the much discussed and oft disputed purpose of the marble figurines—they are fertility goddesses; the idea for them came from Mesopotamia; the cult proves the Oriental origin of the Cycladic people. These and many other categorical statements about the nature of Cycladic culture are premature; the author's judgment that we

really know little about this culture is more reliable. He is right in his estimate of the crucial role the Cyclades played in the Aegean in prehistoric times. We shall not really be able to understand Aegean prehistory or to relate properly the several areas until we have a number of well excavated settlements on various islands, representing the full span of the Bronze Age. When that is accomplished, the material so beautifully presented in this volume will take on greater significance and new meaning.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

University of Missouri

AMONG THE SAVAGES OF THE SOUTH SEAS, *Memoirs of Micronesia, 1862-1868*, by Captain ALFRED TETENS. Translated from the German by FLORENCE MANN SPOEHR. xxxvi, 107 pages, 13 illustrations, 1 map. Stanford University Press, Stanford 1958 \$3.75

Captain Tetens' years in Micronesia were those of the early period of European trade and exploitation of the area. Truly, the islands were known much earlier but their products, largely copra and trepang, became important in the world market late in the 1800's, and European and American traders then began to exercise strong cultural and political influence in the islands.

The translation is preceded by an introduction, prepared by the translator, which gives pertinent biographical and historical data. The captain's travels and experiences with the natives were largely confined to the Yap and Palau groups. His comments are those of an interested and sympathetic observer with a decided flair for, and understanding of, native life. Tetens was a sailor and not an anthropologist; hence his account will prove to be

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frustrating as well as stimulating to the anthropological reader. The translation is annotated; there are few errors in the text because of its generally non-specific nature. Worth correcting might be one error on page 20, where kukau leaves should be noted as from a variety of taro, and another on the plate following page 28, in which an adze is referred to as a hatchet.

All in all, the book will be useful on the shelves of American anthropological workers and other persons interested in an area which has a large though often untouched German literature. It combines readability with information, and it is to be hoped that other translations of the same order may appear in the future.

DOUGLAS OSBORNE

Mesa Verde National Park

CENTRAL GAULISH POTTERS, by J. A. STANFIELD and GRACE SIMPSON. Preface by ERIC BIRLEY. liii, 300 pages, 51 figures, 170 plates, 1 table, 2 diagrams. Oxford University Press, New York 1958 (University of Durham Publications) \$20.20

This *corpus* was begun by the late J. A. Stanfield, after whose death in 1945 Eric Birley undertook the completion of the project. Under the latter's guidance, Miss Grace Simpson has prepared the work for the press. The authors have undertaken to represent fully the decorative repertoires of nine anonymous and one hundred named potters who were active in and around

Lezoux (Puy-de-Dôme) during the Trajanic, Hadrianic and Antonine periods. The figure-types are reproduced from pottery in continental museums, amplified by material from British sites. The important contribution of this volume is the use of historical evidence for the dating of British sites as a means of fixing—more precisely than is possible with evidence from the continent—the chronology of the individual Central Gaulish potters. The introduction is extremely valuable for the light it throws on the ceramic industry and relationships among potters in the second century and on economic conditions in Central Gaul and Britain. Terra sigillata (or samian ware, as Birley and Simpson prefer to call it, using the lower-case initial) was exported in great quantity from Gaul to Britain during the first and second centuries after Christ. There was no significant local production of good pottery designed to take the place of the fine imported wares. One Lezoux potter (the anonymous "X-3") may have considered establishing a branch factory at York, where a fragment of one of his molds has been excavated. British clays, however, are said by the authors to be unsuited to the production of terra sigillata, and X-3's project seems never to have come to fruition. It is interesting to recall in this connection the Arretine potter C. Sentius, whose signature has been reported also on vessels of eastern "Samian" pottery (manufactured in south Russia or on the west coast of Asia Minor). The

stamp C. SEN on a cup of typically "Samian" fabric (Athens, Agora P 18441) is of the same pattern as that used on Sentius' Arretine ware. It is quite different in style from those with which the Greek "Samian" potters, endeavoring to offset the heavy importation of Arretine ware into the East, occasionally signed their names in Latin characters (as: IATROCLI, COERANV, PLVSIV). It seems most probable that Sentius exported his Italian tools and stamps to the East, though the economic motive must have been other than that which caused X-3 to send his molds to England.

Central Gaulish Potters is the first exhaustive study of the subject. It owes much to scholars who, ever since the time of Déchelette at the beginning of the century, have devoted themselves to the painstaking recording of the figure-types, decorative details and signatures of Gaulish terra sigillata. But to Stanfield and Miss Simpson are due the chief merits of the work—the excellent illustrations and text, in which the information about each potter and his relations with his fellow artisans is carefully and lucidly organized. It is not only a valuable reference book, it is easy to read and use.

HENRY S. ROBINSON

*American School of Classical
Studies at Athens*

GREECE. BYZANTINE MOSAICS, Preface by ANDRÉ GRABAR and Introduction by MANOLIS CHATZIDAKIS. 25 pages, 5 figures, 32 color plates. New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, Connecticut (UNESCO World Art Series, Vol. XIII) 1959 \$18.00

Mosaics have usually come off quite poorly in color reproductions. Their lack of surface continuity and their special relationships to sources of light are perhaps the two chief reasons. Irregular surfaces of tesserae defy cameras, and the originals will not give up that special quality of living light that is the essence of the art. In recent years, however, there has been improvement in the preparation of plates, and several publications such as those of Grabar, Talbot Rice, Volbach and Deichmann have been able to give some sense of the beauty and magnificence of this medium.

In the present folio the mosaics of Thessaloniki, Chios, Daphni and

Hosios Loukas are represented by a selection of details, some of which approach full scale. The photography was most carefully done and the colors are on the whole quite true, but the over-all effect is too matte, and "gold" ink cannot substitute for gold leaf beneath thin layers of transparent glass. Yet, because of the subjects selected and the high quality of the brief text, the book is an important one.

The selection of subjects is useful because Thessaloniki and Chios are emphasized and the rather better known mosaics of Daphni and Hosios Loukas are somewhat played down. Thessaloniki is a treasure house of mosaics dating from the fifth, seventh and fourteenth centuries, and the plates make it possible for the first time to compare, with some accuracy, these mosaics with those in Italy and the eastern provinces that have been adequately published. The two essays are just right for first explorations. Grabar's pages say a great deal about the general subject, with many deft observations, and Chatzidakis brings the reader more particularly into the area of the works illustrated by the

plates. There are minor contradictions and overlappings but nothing serious enough to mar the effect of the whole. A full bibliography of the mosaics of Greece is appended.

WILLIAM L. MACDONALD
Yale University

THE CELTS, by T. G. E. POWELL. 283 pages, 34 figures, 79 plates. Frederick A. Praeger, New York (Ancient Peoples and Places, 6) 1958 \$5.00

This brief survey of the history of the Celts begins in a traditional manner. They are described for us first through the eyes of Herodotus and Caesar. The search for the original homeland of the Celtic peoples has long occupied scholars. Here evidence bearing upon this problem is presented on the basis of our current knowledge of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods and the Bronze Age in Europe. The author associates the emergence of the Celts with the rise of the Urnfield cultures of Central Europe. He believes that in this period emerged a people who called themselves Celts. He would, however, associate the appearance of

the "Historic Celts" with the Hallstatt culture, the first Iron Age culture of Central Europe. The distribution of the Hallstatt culture in the sixth century B.C. is the same as that of the Celtic peoples whose geographic location during this period can be determined on the basis of Celtic place names and the earliest Classical references to the Celts.

Powell pays little attention to the various regional developments of Celtic culture on the continent. His picture of the way of life and the beliefs of these people during the last centuries before our era is based mostly on material from the British Isles. They are described in terms of both race and culture. Their temperament, social life, economy and ways of waging war are considered in the light of Irish tradition and the comments of Classical writers. Archaeological finds are also used to provide evidence for all aspects of the Celtic life and religion. For the layman this book is an ideal introduction to the of the once powerful Celtic peoples.

H. L. THOMAS
University of Missouri

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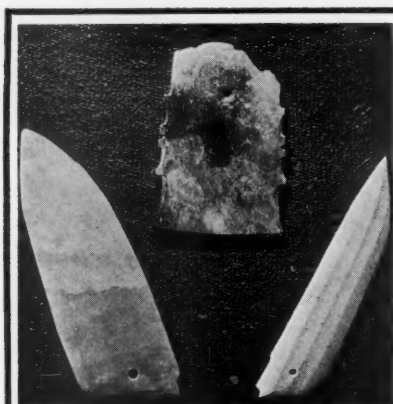
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ROMAN HISTORY FROM COINS: *Some Uses of the Imperial Coinage to the Historian*, by MICHAEL GRANT. 96 pages, 32 plates, end maps. Cambridge University Press, New York 1958 \$2.75

The illustrated book easiest to follow is one in which the sequence of illustrations takes the path of the text. This is not generally the method followed in this volume intended to collect, display and discuss as many significant coins as possible, in order to show how they throw light upon events of the past. The structure is more complicated than it need be and, in this reviewer's opinion, the amount of non-numismatic detail tends to detract from the importance of the clear cases where coins are the main or only source of information for certain points of history, such as the illuminating section on people and places known only from coins. Two portions where the photographs follow the text fairly closely are the one just mentioned and the less important but fascinating passage which discusses coiffures of Roman empresses.

The nature of the book is partly attributable to its origin from lectures and passages from articles, and partly to the author's tendency to cram his great erudition and enviably wide experience into too little space. The approach is broad, and the difficulties of arriving at the truth are appreciated. Although the book seems in places rather tough going for a reader with "no knowledge of the ancient world, or of coins and their technicalities"

(page 9), such a reader should not be discouraged.

The arrangement of the photographs is somewhat chaotic, no. 1 hardly ever being first, and the sequence being very erratic. The captions for individual coins are somewhat uneven, and there are naturally some infelicities and slips (Plate 10, no. 7, "dead," but "regarded as deified" would better describe the type; Plate 14, no. 3, "ship's stern" should be "ornament of ship's stern," *apblaston* and *aplustre* being the well known Greek and Latin words for this object). And it may not be historical truth that Plate 9, no. 2 is evidence for the opening of the Claudian port of Ostia by Nero (cf. *American Journal of Archaeology* [1958] 74-75). But on the whole the pictures, with the help of the captions, do show a wealth of Roman customs and institutions.

The choice of cities represented on the useful map is in the main based on the text, but some cannot be found in the index. A virtue of the map is the mention of names certainly not known to the layman and often little known even to the historian or numismatist; but two Gallic cities numismatically famous and on this map—Arelate and Massilia—are lacking from the index and I have not found them in the text, while the cities of ancient Britain, with perhaps one exception, are generously represented both on map and in index. The author is of course writing for an English public, and one of the most welcome

sections of the book is that on Roman Britain.

This handsome little book will certainly attract attention. The contents will surprise and perhaps stimulate the earnest layman to an interest in the geography of the ancient world as well as in the coins and history, but I suspect they will be seriously used chiefly by students of the Classics and ancient history and their teachers, who will of course know that in their own interest they may want occasionally to verify details and exercise judgment on ideas derived therefrom.

ALINE ABAECHERLI BOYCE
Ann Arbor, Michigan

ANCIENT SEMITIC CIVILIZATIONS, by SABATINO MOSCATI. 254 pages, 26 plates, 4 plans, 4 maps. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York 1958 \$5.00

The author, a seasoned scholar of the Ancient Near East, presents this book (his eleventh in this field) as a unique approach to the study of Semitic antiquity. He says that since there is a prolific literature on the Semitic languages, there should be a corresponding work on the Semitic civilizations. One may question how he can isolate the Semitic populations in a territory whose chief characteristic is the constant flux and change of the races and of its inhabitants. What about the non-Semitic Sumerians and Egyptians? Can their achievements be ignored in the study of that region?

Professor Moscati, however, accomplishes his task very skilfully. He acknowledges the part the Sumerians played in Mesopotamian culture and civilization, but states that this culture is a product of the synthesis of the Sumerian and the Semitic Akkadian geniuses. He also recognizes the importance of Egyptian culture in the Semitic world.

The book has ten chapters, including one on the geography of the region and another on the analysis of the races and peoples who occupied the world of the Semites. Special chapters are devoted to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs and Ethiopians. Each people is introduced with a brief but thorough analysis of the sources and a description of the political and social history as well as their literature, law and art.

The author should be commended for giving the layman as well as the

specialist a concise and compact book reflecting the present state of our knowledge of the ancient Near East. It can be profitably used by the general reader as well as the college student. Teachers of Near Eastern studies should be especially grateful to Professor Moscati for supplying them with a well organized text.

I. KEYFITZ

Missouri School of Religion

THE EGYPTIAN DEPARTMENT AND ITS EXCAVATIONS, by DOWS DUNHAM. 151 pages, 120 figures, frontispiece in color. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1958 \$2.50

The nucleus of the Egyptian collection in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts was formed in 1872 by C. Granville Way's gift of a significant group of antiquities bought in Egypt between 1824 and 1838. From that time until the present it has been enriched by other gifts, by subscription to the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society) and by purchases on the antiquities market. But the collection as it stands today owes its fame to the ex-

cavations undertaken by the museum between 1905 and the beginning of the Second World War in collaboration with Harvard University and under the direction of George A. Reisner.

For almost forty years the Harvard-Boston expedition excavated at the royal necropolis at Giza, giving the Museum of Fine Arts the finest Old Kingdom collection outside of Cairo. Farther south in Egypt, at Naga ed-Der, cemeteries were excavated which range from Predynastic times to the Middle Kingdom, and at El-Bersheh the XIIth Dynasty tomb of Djehuty-nakht, where the museum's famous painted sarcophagus was found. In the Sudan were excavated, between 1914 and 1932, a series of Egyptian forts in the region of the Second Cataract, an important Egyptian trading post of the XIIth Dynasty near the Third Cataract, and several sites still farther south, in the vicinity of Napata and Meroe, the successive capitals of the kingdoms of Kush which flourished long after the end of Egyptian domination. The Sudan excavations brought to the museum sculpture and minor crafts in pure Egyptian style made for

Egyptian governors, and also exquisite objects of native Nubian craftsmanship. The Harvard-Boston excavations as a whole have vastly increased our knowledge of ancient Egypt and its relations with its neighbors to the south.

Mr. Dunham was a member of the Expedition from 1914 until 1928. He was assistant curator of the Egyptian Department until Reisner's death in 1942 and then chief curator until his resignation in 1955. This book, adapted from a series of popular lectures, is a history of the collection and at the same time an account of the excavations. It is written with clarity and charm, revealing the author's selfless devotion to Dr. Reisner and his work, and to the great collection which owes so much of its usefulness and coherence to Mr. Dunham himself.

In the later chapters the excavations and museum accessions are discussed in historical sequence (Middle Kingdom to Late Period). Little historical framework, however, is evident for the enthralling chapters about the Giza sculpture and the tomb of Hetep-heres, and although the collection possesses

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significant exhibits for the prehistoric and archaic periods, these are not specifically mentioned. The final chapter contains some useful general observations on Egyptian art (there are others in Chapter III), as well as a brief discussion of the detection of forgeries, the conservation and restoration of antiquities and other technical problems. Careless editing is evident in numerical references to the illustrations and in the references to Figure 48, which is rightly attributed to Akhenaten on page 73 and wrongly to Amenophis III on page 79. The book is well illustrated.

WINIFRED NEEDLER

Royal Ontario Museum

STONE AGE ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, by EMORY M. STRONG. 254 pages, 107 figures, map. Binfords and Mort, Portland, Oregon 1959 \$3.95

This is a book written for the growing collector audience by an amateur of apparent ability. Unfortunately, it is not archaeology; rather it is, purely and simply, a collector's handbook. The principal effort of the author is devoted to a summary of the archaeological sites along the Columbia River and to a description of characteristic and outstanding artifacts. Despite the fact that many of the sites are being destroyed by hydroelectric projects and other construction the book will be of inestimable value to the collector.

Information is particularly complete for the Lower Columbia and the Dalles, areas that Strong obviously knows best. Much of the remaining river is described from the standard literature. The data presented for the lower river, extending eastward to the Cascades, would seem to be quite useful to the professional investigator, as this portion is little known archaeologically.

The illustrations are very good, for the most part. Even a casual examination of them brings one to a realization of the elaboration and complexity of the prehistoric cultures found in the Lower and Middle Columbia regions. In relatively few miles of river frontage, centered at the Dalles, was an occupation as intensive and in many ways as sophisticated as any found north of Rio Grande, this in contrast to the cultural paucity frequently cited for the Plateau. It must be added that documentation is scanty and that most

of the important objects have found their way into private collections.

The author attempts to link specific archaeological sites to villages mentioned in the literature, particularly in the Lewis and Clark accounts. This is exceedingly worth while. In addition, considerable effort is expended in the identification of European objects and their relation to the fur trade. The treatment of medallions, buttons and beads is particularly good.

Strong makes no pretentious claims; he is merely attempting to present a comprehensive picture of the prehistory of the Columbia as seen by a knowledgeable collector. He has succeeded admirably, but certain annoying defects tend to shake the reader's confidence. There is an unfortunate tendency toward bald assertions of fact without supporting documentation. Similarly, Strong utilizes considerable historical data, but exact citations are seldom included. A more critical approach with more attention to scholarly forms, not for their own sake but in the name of clarity, would have added immeasurably to the usefulness of the book.

WARREN W. CALDWELL

Smithsonian Institution
Lincoln, Nebraska

MONUMENTS CHRÉTIENS D'HIPPONE, ville épiscopale de Saint Augustin, by ERWAN MAREC. 260 pages, 38 figures, 67 plates (3 in color), 1 plan. Arts et Métiers Graphiques, Paris 1958 (Ministère de l'Algérie, Sous-direction des beaux-arts)

The greater part of this work is devoted to an account of an irregularly shaped *insula* which, around A.D. 400, contained a large three-aisled basilican church and a maze of structures most of which were probably dependencies to the church. Identified with varying degrees of conviction are a chapel, a baptistry, a room for catechumens, some other service apartments for the church, several dwellings and an industrial establishment; there are also elaborate structures for which no definite explanations are hazarded. In the basilica itself, and scattered throughout the complex, are numerous fragments of mosaic of several periods; largely on the basis of these some of the history of the complex and of the church itself can be discerned. The presentation is admirably objective and

careful; the conclusions suggested in some of the drawings particularly are extraordinarily illuminating; and in general such a coherent unit of new and important material is thoroughly gratifying.

In another section is an equally careful consideration of a structure in a neighboring area, designated the "church with five aisles"; one may wonder whether this peculiar building was actually a church.

Finally, there is summarized literary evidence for the names and history of the churches of Hippo, and attempts to identify the structures discovered; this has great interest quite apart from the immediate purpose.

ROBERT SCRANTON

Emory University

THE MUTE STONES SPEAK, *The Story of Archaeology in Italy*, by PAUL MACKENDRICK. xiv, 369 pages, 171 figures. St. Martin's Press, New York 1960 \$7.50

This book is not only a useful and much needed survey of recent archaeological work in Italy but in a sense also a history of Rome. It is, further, an illuminating introduction to the method and significance of archaeology as a source of historical evidence. Proceeding chronologically, it tells the story of ancient Rome by selecting from each period a few salient areas in which recent discoveries have made some important contribution. They are presented with clarity of description, with considerable detail in some areas, and above all with historical imagination. The description begins in every case with sufficient preliminary information to give the reader a starting point from which to appreciate the new evidence.

In the first four chapters, which trace the early cultures of Italy and the rise of Rome, the evidence is less abundant and there is room to give a reasonably comprehensive view. The excellent chapter on Roman Colonies can draw upon an area in which excavations have gone far to fill a gap in our picture of republican Rome.

In later periods where the material is more abundant, selection is necessarily more stringent. The sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste was an inevitable choice for the chapter on the late Republic, because this vast complex is one of the revolutionary discoveries of recent years. The detailed description

and interpretation of this splendid monument are among the gems of the book. The two other late republican sites, described with an obtrusive disapproval of the political ambitions behind the building of Pompey's Theater and the Forum of Julius Caesar, implement the same aspect of the author's view of the period. Another selection would have given a quite different—and, in the opinion of this reviewer, a more balanced—picture. The chapter could have suggested something of the growing consciousness of Rome as a world center, the monumentalizing of civic buildings, the creative use of Greek orders combined with arcuated construction in concrete illustrated, for example, by the recent freeing of three great bays of the Sullan Tabularium.

Out of a wealth of new discoveries from the Augustan Age the author selects with discrimination. Notwithstanding his pervasive disapproval of Augustus as a ruler he succeeds in imparting the excitement of the re-excavation and assembling of the Altar of Peace, and of the recently proposed reconstruction of Augustus' arch in the Forum. The one-sided picture of the early empire must be attributed not to

prejudice but to the accident of discovery. Caligula's pleasure ships on Lake Nemi, the cave at Sperlonga and Nero's Golden House are easily the most spectacular new excavations from the Julio-Claudian period. But it is unfortunate for the historical picture that there is nothing to bespeak the imperial concern for beautifying the city, for public welfare and recreation, illustrated by the Claudian buildings such as the Aqua Claudia and the Porta Maggiore, or the foundations of the harbor at Ostia.

The survey of Pompeii, the Rome of the Flavians and Trajan, moves with ease and competence over a variety of material, conveying vividly the complexities of metropolitan Rome and Ostia in contrast with municipal Pompeii. Among the most delightful chapters is that on Hadrian, which combines a perceptive appreciation of the man with a compelling reconstruction of the architectural glories of his reign. The same gift of vivid reconstruction characterizes the descriptions of the late Roman villa at Piazza Armerina in Sicily and of the new cemetery under St. Peter's, marred only by the utterly misleading title of "Caesar and Christ."

Apart from such minor, and surely venial, faults the book is an excellent synthesis of recent discoveries, which communicates the excitement of new horizons as well as the interest of modern archaeological techniques. Provided with a good bibliography, well illustrated, and detailed enough at certain points to serve as a guide to the traveler in Italy, it should be equally beguiling to the reader who must visit the sites through verbal and photographic portrayal.

INEZ SCOTT RYBERG

Vassar College

EARLY CHRISTIAN IRELAND, by MÁIRE and LIAM DE PAOR. 264 pages, 31 figures, 76 plates, frontispiece in color, 5 maps. Frederick A. Praeger, New York (Ancient Peoples and Places, 8) 1958 \$5.00

Both the student and the non-specialist can get a great deal from this series. The present volume is no exception, for it is well written and well illustrated and offers a variety of detail without neglecting controversial matters and judgments. The story is "that of the gradual absorption of Mediterranean culture by an unsub-

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dued Celtic community, who yielded, not to Roman arms, but to Roman letters and religion."

The authors deal with Christian Ireland between the fifth and the twelfth centuries, from the appearance of the first missions to the invasion of the Anglo-Normans. Their chief concern is the evidence given by the buildings, carvings, manuscript paintings and metalwork of that period, but Celtic society is not neglected, and the text is enriched with translations of old poems and laws. The central portion of the book is concerned with life and art between the middle of the seventh century and the beginning of the ninth, when the Viking raids were well begun; this was the period when such masterpieces as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells were created. A considerable bibliography rounds off this excellent book.

WILLIAM L. MACDONALD
Yale University

EVERYDAY LIFE IN EGYPT in the Days of *Ramesses the Great*, by PIERRE MONTET. Translated by A. R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP and MARGARET S. DROWER. xvi, 365 pages, 63 figures, 16 plates, 2 maps. St. Martin's Press, New York 1958 \$8.00

This is good historical composition in the ever more popular style which offers no compromise with fact, while maintaining interest.

Pierre Montet has shown a fine bibliographical knowledge in developing his descriptions in *Everyday Life in Egypt*. It is reassuring that he also refers frequently to his own publications. With the comparative paucity of reliable material on the everyday life of the working or slave classes of Egypt, top priority, as usual, being given to the ways of the plutocracy, Montet has been able to deduce much of the life of the lower classes.

His chapter on Hunting in the Desert by the princes and nobles tells also of the functions of the slaves. More of the rich-poor formula is in his chapter on Dwelling Places, when he describes the palaces with their too remote quarters for servants, also the very poor who, as now, were squeezed into inadequate rooms with mats and boxes for their only furniture. A fair picture of a people often develops from the knowledge of their eating habits. Montet's sub-heading on that discloses his

well balanced use of fact and deduction which makes good reading, and it is good to find the author's words "I imagine" in a text of this caliber.

However, Montet's book should still be classified as another fine addition to research material and not something which one consumes at a sitting. The book embraces in easy, readable fashion the essentials of a work of this nature: what they ate, what they wore, how they were housed, what they worked at, what they played at, how they were governed, how they traveled, how they worshiped and died. I like his fresh inferences from material most of which has long been available: the monarch adjuring his son, "Judges never show mercy when they judge the unfortunate."

Montet could have allowed himself a bit more space for his summation, something comparable to his introduction, which does so well in leading the reader farther. In complimenting the book, much should be said for the plates and drawings, a craftsmanship in which we are too often outdone by the British.

JOHN DIMICK
University of Pennsylvania

BRIEF NOTICES

A GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL COINS OF THE GREEKS, from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270, based on the work of BARCLAY V. HEAD. iv, 108 pages, 52 plates. British Museum, London 1959

A reprint of the 1932 edition with some thirty-five additional coins, shown on two supplementary plates. The plates are excellently reproduced and the Guide will continue to be a valuable introduction to the study of Greek numismatics.

SAMOTHRAE: The Ancient Literary Sources, edited and translated by NAPHTALI LEWIS. xvi, 148 pages, frontispiece, 1 plate. Pantheon Books, New York 1958 (Bollingen Series 60, 1; Samothrace, Vol. I) \$7.50

It is becoming a happy practice in publications of extensive excavations to devote a volume or part of a volume to the ancient literary references to the site involved. The value of such undertakings hardly needs to be ex-

tolled, particularly when the editing, translating and printing are done as elegantly as in this first volume of the Samothrace excavations. It augurs well for the eagerly awaited publication of Samothracian research sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and Prof. Karl Lehmann.

INDIAN SILVERWORK OF THE SOUTHWEST, Illustrated, by HARRY P. MERA. Volume I. vi, 122 pages, 198 illustrations. Dale Stuart King, Globe, Arizona 1959 \$2.00

Probably the most thorough and best illustrated work on the subject, written about 1940 by one of the late (†1951) authorities on it. The excellent illustrations show over a thousand specimens, almost all Navajo. Each of the twenty-one sections is preceded by an account and history of the type of object, and each illustration by a full description.

EXCAVATIONS in the Upper Little Colorado Drainage, Eastern Arizona, by PAUL S. MARTIN and JOHN B. RINALDO. 127 pages, 61 figures, 2 tables, 1 map. Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago 1960 (Fieldiana: Anthropology, Vol. 51, No. 1) \$4.00

In their customary methodical style the authors describe two pre-pottery camp sites, a small pithouse village of the Mogollon culture of the seventh or eighth century A.D. and an "incipient pueblo" of the tenth or eleventh century. This work reports the opening season of a long-term program of excavation in the St. Johns-Springerville area.

THE SCULPTURE OF THE PARTHENON, by P. E. CORBETT. 39 pages, 7 figures, 40 plates. Penguin Books, Baltimore 1959 \$1.25

This King Penguin gives a succinct and authoritative account of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon, considered in its setting, and with regard to the literary evidence concerning it as well as to its style and workmanship. Separate sections are devoted to the metopes, the frieze and the pediments, and there is a final brief consideration of Phidias and his role with respect to these sculptures. The illustrations are numerous and adequate; only a few are new.

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LA CIVILTÀ APENNINICA. Origine Delle Comunità Pastorali in Italia, by SALVATORE M. PUGLISI. 115 pages, 22 plates. Sansoni, Florence 1959 4500 lire

A precise and comprehensive presentation of the present state of knowledge regarding the culture of a population of shepherds which numerous discoveries (especially in recent years), chiefly of pottery and the remains of huts, have revealed as having existed, toward the end of the second millennium B.C., over three areas of the Italian peninsula and on both slopes of the main mountain range. This culture was distinct from that of the Indo-Europeans; it led to a "Sub-apennine" phase; it appears to have influenced the tradition as to the origins of Rome.

ERETZ-ISRAEL: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies. Vol. V, dedicated to Professor BENJAMIN MAZAR on his Fiftieth Birthday. vii, 259; viii, 96 pages, text figures, 26 plates. Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1958

This series of archaeological, historical and geographical studies, comprising thirty-six articles in Hebrew and eleven in English, is dedicated to Professor Benjamin Mazar, President of the Hebrew University, on his fiftieth birthday. The roster of contributors includes most of the scholars associated with recent studies in the archaeology and civilization of Israel. While the contributions are of necessity brief, most of them contain new material or new interpretations which will make this volume indispensable in Near Eastern and Mediterranean studies. The volume is thus a fitting tribute to a scholar whose very large bibliography, given here, attests to the contribution he has already made to these fields.

KULTUREN DER SUDSEE, Einführung in die Voelkerkunde Ozeaniens, by HERBERT TISCHNER. iv, 150 pages, text figures, 24 plates, 1 map. Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgesichte, Hamburg 1958

An attractive, beautifully printed but lightly bound book. The work is almost wholly descriptive, in thirty-five sections varying from a history of discovery to clothing, trade, religion, musical instruments, etc. Each section provides extremely brief but generally adequate statements. The emphasis is on Melanesia, with Micronesia and Polynesia following. The illustrations are drawn from material in the Hamburg Museum.

A major lack is bibliographic. One can only feel that the descriptive and atomistic approach used is most valuable and useful as a popular work or a memory refresher. The plan might well be followed for other areas.

MIT RAHINEH 1955, by RUDOLF ANTHERS, with contributions by HASAN S. K. BAKRY, JOHN DIMICK, HENRY G. FISCHER, LABIB HABACHI, and JEAN JACQUET. v, 93 pages, 18 figures, 45 plates, 1 map. The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1959 \$4.00

Memphis, like most ancient Egyptian cities, lies on and within ground which is very difficult to recapture. The rise of the alluvium, modern building and agriculture have obliterated

the evidence. The older dynasties, in particular, are lost beyond adequate apprehension. We are therefore grateful for this careful study of the visible indications. Most of what was found is dated to the XIXth to XXIst Dynasties. The architecture and the somewhat limited inscriptions are well treated, and pottery from pharaonic Egypt has rarely received such careful consideration.

7000 YEARS OF POTTERY AND PORCELAIN, by MAX WYKES-JOYCE. 276 pages, 85 plates, frontispiece. Philosophical Library, New York 1958 \$12.00

This interesting survey, written in rather flamboyant style, covers too much ground for thoroughness. Only seven pages are devoted to Greek and Roman ceramics. Within this brief compass, a technical explanation of Greek glaze is also attempted, but this is confusing rather than successful.

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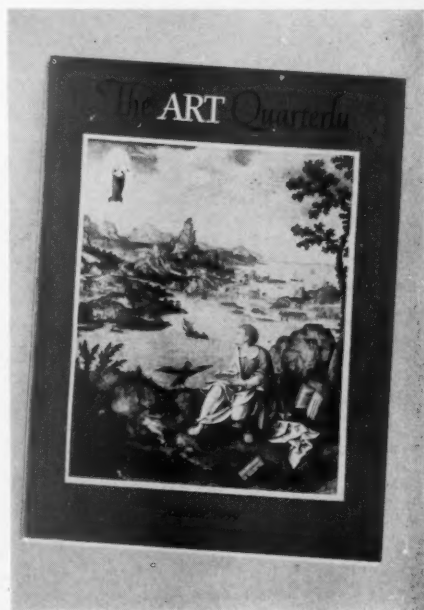
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